MEET MR. JINNAH

Bid

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

This book is materially the same as the first edition except that I have made it up-to-date ith additions also here and there. I have in ference to the wishes of the Qaid-e-Azam, cut off those portions pertaining to his private life. I have also to contradict, on the authority of Mr. Jinnah, that there is absolutely no truth in the report published in the first edition that Mrs. Jinnah received a dowry of thirty lakhs of rupees at her wedding.

Madras
1946 — A. A. R.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the most discussed man in Indian politics to-day. One may decry his theories, may disagree with his views and may even dislike his politics, but certainly cannot ignore him. Critics call him, "A progressive turned communalist," "damaged arch-angel," "fanatic," "feuhrer," "agent of British imperialism," and what not. But he is none of these. He is even to-day as much a patriot as anyone in the Congress camp. But Congressmen have a way of their own—of monopolizing the patriotism and the love of the country for themselves.

Leading the Indian Muslims is no ordinary task. Being a martial race, their estimate of leadership lies far beyond money and gift of the gab. Sincerity of character, tenacity of purpose and readiness to sacrifice are according to them the chief qualifications of their leader. And that was why only a few could claim and command an all-India leadership. Muslim leaders there were but their range of influence was either confined or short-lived. It was left to the shrewd statesmanship of Mr. Jinnah to secure a countrywide leadership as well as the undisputed loyalty of Muslims from the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Assam. The secret of his success lies in the fact that not only he satisfies all the qualifications required but has many conspicuous virtues in addition.

Wherever he was, in the Congress or in the Home Rule League, his position was respectfully reserved and that always in the forefront. That is because he has the unique talent for organising and giving fresh strength and impetus to the movement he joins. To-day he is hailed as the Messiah, the Qaid-e-Azam, accorded right royal receptions, taken in miles-long processions and welcomed with aeroplanes flying above his head and raining petals of roses over him. Never before did Muslim India express their love and regard so grandly and so spontaneously. They believe that he is their man of destiny and they have entrusted their interests into his hands without any mental reservation.

I have no special qualifications to write this book. The one thing that prompted me to take up the task is the great love I bear for this dynamic personality who within the brief period of half a decade, worked a miracle, made a nation out of a crowd, put the Muslims on their feet, inspired them as never before, gave them a flag, a platform and a definite goal. His was a magic touch. For the solid bloc that is Muslim India to-day, the credit in full must go to the Qaid-e-Azam. In fact a standard biography of Mr. Jinnah was a long-felt want, if for nothing else, at least to counteract the lies that are being cooked up and dished out by the Congress press. I wished, waited and prayed that someone—more able than my humble self—would undertake the job. But none came forward. In this, I

have not followed any established rules of biography-writing. My approach to the subject is mine own. I take all the blame. If there is any credit, I take that too. In the following pages I have faithfully tried to portray Mr. Jinnah as I understand him and as the Muslim youth understands him. For materials I have tapped many a source. I wrote to Mr. Jinnah's close collaborators; some of them were kind enough to help me. I consulted a number of books, waded through several newspaper articles, statements, interviews, appreciations, and cameos both from the pen of his admirers as well as his adversaries. In fact I have tried my best. But I can't claim this biography to be exhaustive or even authoritative. There is a good deal about Mr. Jinnah's person that is unknown. His private life is his own—except to friends and near relatives, it is a mere handful of conjectures. But Mr. Jinnah the politician is a world-figure and his name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of this country. Muslims rightly consider him as their political Messiah and feel that just as in her hour of direst need Britain found her Churchill, Muslim India have found their Jinnah.

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A. M. B.

Madras
1944

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DAWN

Christmas Day of the year 1876 was the birthday of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was a Sunday and in any Christian family the birth of a child on such an auspicious day would have been acclaimed as a special gift from God and the child pet-named "the Christmas Babe." But the child of our biography was born in a very rich business-running Muslim family in Karachi. Though he was not given the name "Christmas Babe" at the time of his birth, the child was really considered as a special gift from God. That child brought happiness and cheer with his advent and at that distance of time, none, not even his parents, imagined that the child would grow up to be one of the greatest leaders that India ever produced.

We can very well say that he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Had his father and elders decided for him a career as their own and had him absorbed in their own business, we would have had, in all probability, lost our Jinnah. They say that Providence has a hand in shaping the destinies of nations. Fortunately for the Muslims of India, Mr. Jinnah's elders chose for him an altogether different walk of life and in his very childhood decided to train him up in the legal line.

Being the eldest son, he was brought up under sweet luxury and rich affluence of a big home; and was easily the pet child of the whole family. What he wanted he got and nothing was refused. As a result of these extraordinary attentions paid to him anyone could have very easily turned a spoilt child; but Mr. Jinnah, even as a child, had a very good taste and love for books.

As is customary with evey Muslim child, Mr. Jinnah, when very young, was admitted into the local *Madrasah* where he learnt the Holy Quran, the ABC of Islamic theology and the three R's. Soon he left the *Madrasah* and joined the Mission School at Karachi where he did his Matriculation.

After this, Mr. Jinnah was sent to England to study for the Bar in the year 1892. He was hardly sixteen then and even at that period he did not go unnoticed. There is a picturesque pen-portrait about this brilliant youngster—"that tall, thin boy in a funny long yellow coat." Though he has managed to remain "tall and thin," none dare call his clothes as "funny" any longer; for it is agreed on all hands that he is one of the best dressed men in India today.

He joined the Lincoln's Inn and in the year 1896, when he was just twenty, was called to the Bar.

While in England, his life was marked for diligence, discipline and deep study. Like the many Indian students he was not after vain pursuits and was never a "problem tenant."

He led a life of high dignity and absolute self-respect which can very easily be the model for every Indian student residing in England. He did not go astray. He knew that he had gone there to study and not on excursion or on a holiday trip. In those days the ground was rather slippery for the Indians in England and it must be said to the credit of steadfast Jinnah that he was lure-proof and beyond all temptations.

At a period when most students were apt to be indifferent and self-centred, Mr. Jinnah was extremely sensitive and to his pain and dismay he found that Indian students were aloof from one another and even when they met, they did so as strangers. This set him thinking and he sincerely felt that only an Indian students' organisation could bring the Indian young men together.

As a student he could do no more but take an oath that when he would have collected enough influence he would set matters aright. This he did when he paid his second visit to England again in 1913. But during his stay as a student he did this much with success: he missed no opportunity whenever possible to come in close contact with other students from various parts of India.

After about four years' stay in England, Mr. Jinnah returned to India, a finished product. Meanwhile, there had been some reverses in the business dealings of his elders and when he

reached home, he found his family sunk in great pecuniary difficulties. He was denied the enthusiastic welcome of a luxurious home and the easy affluence in which he had lived was a thing of the past. Grim realities of life stared him in the face and he had to struggle for a living. Not only had he to stand on his own legs but the heavy responsibility of supporting an entire family fell on his young and inexperienced shoulders. To one who had not known what it was to be in want all his life, when poverty overtook him all on a sudden, he found it shocking and at the same time severe. Any other man would have lost his self-confidence or become desperate but Mr. Jinnah took it as a sportsman. While at Karachi, he expressed a desire to work as a junior under the late Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas, a famous pleader of the city. But not being encouraged, he went over to Bombay in about 1902. Now the whole world lay before him and the young barrister Mr. Jinnah had to fight his way through somehow during the lean years at the Bar.

2

ADVOCATE OF TRUTH

Law is in Mr. Jinnah's life-blood. The choice of the legal profession was his own. But the beginning was full of up-hills and down-dales, obstacles and obstructions. Mr. Jinnah like a brave soldier fought his battle of life and as a true Muslim he never despaired. Soon fortune was knocking at his door. An old friend of his family, seeing the great talent and the abundant ability which Mr. Jinnah possessed, with his influence, introduced the young barrister to one Mr. Macpherson, the then acting Advocate-General of Bombay. The kind Advocate received Mr. Jinnah with open arms and what more, extended to the young lawyer the rare privilege of utilising his library and reading in his chambers—in those days a unique and an unprecedented thing for an European barrister to do. When Mr. Jinnah was thus engaged, he had no credentials except that he was a young Muslim lawyer who had just returned from England. He met and very much impressed Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji who engaged him as his private secretary. Mr. Jinnah's talent and genius attracted the attention of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta who possessed the knack of recognising merit wherever it was found and of making the best out of it. Sir Pheroze took him into his party.

Now Mr. Jinnah's life turned a new leaf. The opportunities for which he was waiting were given to him. Briefs came to him every now and then. He well knew how to put two and two together. He was a brilliant beginner with a great promise as a lawyer. He studied his cases to the minutest detail and employed the force of his eloquence to do the rest. Soon he was mounting up the ladder, rung by rung and the great reputation for legal knowledge and powerful advocacy was hastening towards him with greater acceleration than he had expected. Day by day his star was on the ascendency and gradually Mr. Jinnah rose to power and to a leader's position at the Bar. The strongest proofs of his genius are his achievements and the reputation he had earned in a very short time. Hardly few lawyers could have had such a rapid rise to fame and this speaks volumes about Mr. Jinnah's capabilities. He became a full-fledged lawyer while many of his age were praying for briefs to come. He was enrolled as an Advocate in 1906. And till recently—when he gave up practice for politics—Mr. Jinnah's position was at the top, and at the Bombay Bar he occupied an envied position and commanded a very extensive and lucrative practice.

This shows the man and the mettle he is made of. Even from the beginning Mr. Jinnah had a very great taste for law. He had made it a point to endeavour, persevere and achieve perfection in any work he undertook. Law being

his profession he devoted his full time, attention and energy to it. Book after book was skimmed through, with the result that now he is considered as a very able and powerful Advocate, and is universally respected as an authority on questions of law.

It is a grand sight to watch him in a court-room arguing a case. Few lawyers can boast of more attentive audience. Advocates say that it is a treat to hear Mr. Jinnah argue and win a case. A great colleague of his once confided: "I don't know how he does it. But he wins many weak cases." In the remarkable way of arguing a case and getting down to the bare bones of a brief, there is hardly anyone to rival him. The marshalling of arguments and the masterly way of presenting them in quick succession are his own and if a lawyer is to be judged by the achievement of the maximum result with the minimum of effort, the prize should go to Mr. Jinnah. For, when he rises to speak, the court-room assumes an atmosphere of pin-drop silence. He is generally in his fighting moods. His voice usually has a small volume and his half-whispered accents cast a strange spell over the whole audience. It has been seen in court-rooms that Mr. Jinnah, while arguing criminal cases, has many a time exhibited his talents for acting. Juniors crane their necks to watch his movement and actions. The opposing counsel follows his case with perfect attention; not to speak of the judge who closely studies his arguments. Though

Mr. Jinnah's words are for the most part slightly inaudible, when required his voice can acquire a thunderous roar and this is noted only when the inevitable happens—an interruption ! If Mr. Jinnah cannot tolerate one thing, it is interruption when in the thick of a debate or a speech. He does not allow his interrupter to go scot-free ; he stings him with the venom of his tongue. He aims his words as skilfully as an able archer flings his arrow. Few have survived the smashing hits of his verbal offensive.

In law-courts, where he is the champion of his client, he is also a terror for the opposing counsel. He wields a very great influence in courts. Personal magnetism is an asset of Mr. Jinnah and he can utilise it to the maximum extent with tact and effect. He has established a reputation in the legal line by his rapier-like trusts and in fact his career at the bar is full of thrills, adventures, and smashing hits hurled at witnesses, defending counsels and judges as well. As an advocate he is unshakable ; he prepares himself for the most serious ordeals, remains unruffled under the worst circumstances. No lawyer dare cross swords with him and no judge dare bully him. His ready wit has saved many a situation and his crushing retorts have silenced many a proud judge. He personally tolerates no overtures on his person and can never brook any insult.

To quote just one example: Mr. Jinnah brought to senses a British civilian judge, who

was notorious for his mad fury. Counsels and junior practitioners used to shiver at the mere mention of his name. And it was before such a judge that Mr. Jinnah once happened to argue a case. In a flash of fury, the judge, in wounded arrogance, remarked : " Mr. Jinnah, you must not forget that you are not arguing before the subordinate judge of a lower court." While other counsels quaked and litigants were shivering in their shoes, Mr. Jinnah—noted for his smashing retorts—shot at the judge : " There is not a third class counsel before your lordship either." This made the judge angry but he could do nothing but hold his tongue.

There was another instance when the storm burst and this time the recipient of the blow was a Parsi. When Sir Dinshaw Dawar began to deliver a small sermon on the duties of lawyers on an occasion when his son Mr. Jehangir Dawar and Mr. Jinnah, who represented the parties, appeared late in the case before him, Mr. Jinnah gave a specimen of his outspokenness to Sir Dinshaw Dawar by saying : " Sir, please confine this lecture to your son whose arrogance was responsible for this delay and do not try to address it to a lawyer who is practising for the last twenty-five years and is well aware of his duties as a lawyer."

On another occasion, when a meek judge suggested that the irrepressible Jinnah should respect him at least for his grey hairs earned this—" I am not going to respect those grey

hairs unless there is wisdom behind them."

The natural cast of his mind is to achieve success by sincere endeavour, by dint of his courage and by his pushing and fighting disposition. Not being indebted to anyone either in public or private life, his demeanour of keeping his head erect adds to his personal dignity.

Even as a lawyer he is incorruptible. He will never stoop to conquer—grabbing is not in his nature. While it is the weakness of many advocates to fall easy victims to filthy lucre, Mr. Jinnah is temptation-proof and will not claim a single pie more than his due. Neither will he use his profession for a wrong cause. He is the greatest champion of truth. Once he spurned the weak briefs of a big Maharaja by saying: "I am a lawyer and not a tout." His position at the Bar is dignified and enviable. He is frank and toadying is unknown to him. He is an embodiment of the highest standards of the legal profession. During the early years of his legal career, he was hailed as the "Lord Simon of the Indian Bar."

In the legal profession Mr. Jinnah made a very grand success. It netted him a huge fortune and put quarter dozen nice, modern bungalows on the Malabar Hill—not to speak of his other property. He knows how to clinch the core of any case and the key-note of his success is utilising the least evidence to the greatest advantage. Such successful lawyers are rare.

Success in the legal profession greeted Mr.

Jinnah on the midway because he is always on the right and is a defender of the oppressed. As an expert lawyer of criminal cases, he has established his reputation and made a mark in the Indian Bar. Just as he is incorruptible in the political field, he is unpurchasable in the legal line also.

The recent assault on Mr. Jinnah by one Sabir Mozangwi brought out still more facts about Mr. Jinnah as a lawyer. It was probably the first time that Mr. Jinnah appeared before a Court as a complainant. The accused who was reported to be a Muslim and *Khaksar* went on denying all the allegations and dubbing the case as a trumped-up one. But the evidence of those eye-witnesses who saw him attack Mr. Jinnah gave lie to his statement. While Mr. Jinnah's secretary and chauffeur disproved the assailant's concoctions, a knife-grinder of Bombay deposed that the accused had brought to him a clasp-knife, a day prior to the day of assault, to have it further sharpened. And Mr. Jinnah, giving his own evidence in Court, used his usual talent for acting. Dramatising the whole assault, he impressed upon the judge and the jury, by gestures and actions and vivid and picturesque description of every move and detail as it behoved an experienced and seasoned lawyer. The accused was found guilty and awarded five years' hard labour. Securely locked up behind the bars of a prison-house, Sabir is doing his term for having taken arms against one of the foremost leaders of India and Indian Muslims' greatest advocate.

3

STUDENTS' "BEAU-IDEAL"

Mr. Jinnah is the "Beau-ideal" of Muslim youths of the country. Among youths none attract his attention more than the students. He has built high hopes on these young men and feels that when politicians like him would have fought and achieved freedom, it will be the responsibility of youths to preserve it.

His interest in Indian students is as old as this century—in fact even more than that. During his student days in London, Mr. Jinnah was very much anxious about the Indian students. He never forgot them during his almost annual visit thereafter. He was amazed at the way Indian students behaved and could not comprehend how students belonging to the same country could meet as strangers on the foreign soil as if there was nothing of common interest to them. What made him seriously think about it and regret the strange behaviour all the more was that students from India were the pick of the youths and it was they who could make or unmake the future history of India and as such much was expected of them. He determined to organise them, weld them into one unit and make them realise the heavy responsibilities that awaited them when they returned. As a shrewd statesman, who always looks two or three

decades ahead, Mr. Jinnah foresaw the role the Indian student had to play in fighting for his constitutional rights and his legitimate place under the sun. Events have justified Mr. Jinnah's pre-thought-out move and students returning to India not only took part in politics but crowded into the Council and legislatures to constitutionally agitate for their political rights. During April 1913, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gokhale left for a long holiday in England. But to an active soul like Mr. Jinnah's where was time for making merry? The problems of his country loomed large before his eyes and he utilised his time in planning many ways-out. His restless soul could not remain idle, could not find pleasure in holidaying. As very much interested in Indian students in England, he endeavoured day and night and founded the London Indian Association. He took objections to the various restrictions laid on the Indian student community as a whole and vigorously fought for their removal. In addition to these, he also made a close study of the working of the India Council. This preliminary observation was of a great help to him when again he visited England in 1914 as a member of the Congress Deputation in connection with the reform of the India Council.

Then Mr. Jinnah tried his best to serve the student population in varied ways. He could not bear to see the contempt with which the Indian students were looked at and successfully

pleaded for the removal of restrictions on admission which English education centres imposed on Indian students. He took a prominent part in the agitation for simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service; he fought for and obtained new openings for educated Indians; and he welcomed the Indian Defence Force Bill on this account.

To revert back to the subject, Mr. Jinnah endeavoured, persevered, took pains and left no stone unturned to achieve his object in view of the public good and in a speech at public meeting held on 28th June, 1913, at the Caxton Hall, London, he pleaded for the establishment of a London Indian Association with the following objects:

"To maintain and foster unity and to strengthen and encourage friendship between the Indian students in the United Kingdom by providing various opportunities for social intercourses and interchange of thoughts and ideas by holding debates and discussions on various subjects of interest, social gatherings and by acquiring a club house; provided that this association does not take part in actual and administrative politics."

Making this proposal Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, laid emphasis on the need of a central association to cast off the exclusiveness and aloofness among students which were the outcome of having many different clubs and societies. He proceeded:

"The position of the Indian students in this country is one without a parallel. The Indian student class is typically representative of the best the country can produce. They are, so to speak, the custodians of the reputation of India. Unfortunately, just now, so far as the British public is concerned, they have not a good name. Instead of conducting themselves merely as students and learning all they can of the civilisation which the British people had taken centuries to build up, they are tempted to use strong language in political questions. I will remind you that you are scarcely competent as yet to deal with the political problems presented by our country. Nobody appreciates more than I do the honesty of purpose or the patriotism which has induced you to do what you have done, but it is time that you seriously consider your position. You might ask me what the proposed Association is going to do . . . . We are going to develop the opportunities for a wider national outlook. Today, in India, the men who are taking the most active part in politics are men who were educated in England and have returned home to serve our country. By all means mix with the English people and make friends among them. But make it your first duty while you are here to meet and understand your own countrymen. It is your presence in England that gives you an opportunity of coming in contact with others from all parts of India."

Concluding he stressed on the students observing a high code of honour and morality, and exhorted them to "abandon strong language and hysterical ideas and become earnest workers and serious thinkers and that they must give the Government no cause to take precautionary measures, and when they go back home they must become great missionaries in the cause of progress."

He was very much opposed to students taking active part in politics but advised them to be always in touch with politics and to take academic interest and understand it; for, in India, politics had become the mainstay of the people and it was therefore no use shutting their eyes to it.

Mr. Jinnah had great affection for the students and would willingly do anything for them. The students invited him to preside over the All-India Students' Conference at Lucknow on August 13, 1936. He knew that his political adversary, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, would open the Conference. But Mr. Jinnah is a perfect gentleman and does not allow his friendly relationship to be stiffened by political differences. He agreed. Thus the two J's of Indian politics met on one platform. Rather the students brought this about!

Even today Mr. Jinnah is most popular among students. Only one reason can be attributed to this. Mr. Jinnah, in spite of his years, in spite of the wrinkles on his face, in spite

of his thin, emaciated form, in spite of heavy responsibilities, is still a youth at heart. Time had been kind to him and seventy summers sit on him lightly. He has the bearing of a youth, the gait of a gallant and the air of an optimist. His unflinching determination, tenacity of purpose and iron-will have endeared him to the youths. Brisk like a boy of twenty, he is very active and his diary is full four weeks ahead. The Muslim youths believe that in his hands their interests are always safe. He has manners that are endearing and an enthusiasm that is inspiring. By sheer force of personality he can win over anyone.

There is a very interesting anecdote told of his youthful zeal which simply bewildered the students. In December 1937, there was the annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation and Mr. Jinnah was the President. When the session adjourned for dinner at 8 p.m., there was some dispute about the next session. Most of the students were against a night sitting especially because it was cold and chill wind was blowing. But the Quaid-e-Azam put an end to all discussions saying: "I will be here at 9-30 p.m. I am older than you in age, but younger in spirit."

He has special regard for students and nothing gives him greater pleasure than addressing them. Almost every year he has visited Aligarh and during his sojourn in October 1942 he said: "I visit you every year and I have adopted the

role of a reporter." To the students he speaks with great regard but there is not a single instance when he tried to drag them into active politics. He has inspired them with a thousand messages, exhorted them to cultivate toleration and mutual respect and esteem. Addressing the Muslim Youths' Majlis branch at Aligarh he told some home-truths to them :

"Try your level best to learn the sense of responsibility and duty. Build up your character; that is more than all the degrees. All degrees and no character is mere waste of time. You should also develop the sense of honour, integrity and duty. We are not a bit inferior to any other nation. We have simply neglected to develop these qualities which we could. Believe me, the day these qualities are fully developed, your home—Pakistan—is yours."

He is a friend of Muslim students ; he finds the greatest pleasure nowhere except amidst them. For youths he is a perfect model of sincerity and integrity. There are other traits in his character which everyone may well copy.

4

PARLIAMENTARIAN OF GIFTS

Mr. Jinnah as a parliamentary debater has few equals in India. It is a pleasure to hear him in the Central Assembly. His speciality is piercing attacks. He does not indulge in mere fireworks but whatever criticism he levels at his opponent is pointed and has flashing effect. A shiver runs through his adversaries when he gets up to make a speech. The most important side of his speech-making is that not only his audience listens to him spell-bound but he enjoys his speech himself. He does go in for choice selection of words but places his points before the audience and argues his subject logically and shrewdly like an experienced lawyer. Allow him to have his say. Unfortunately if you interrupt him, you are sure to get a rebuff with such accurate force that no wonder you are vanquished. In this art there is nobody to excel him in India. That is why even great leaders hear him patiently without entering into a passage of arms lest be shot by his retort.

In the year 1910, when Mr. Jinnah was a mere junior at Bombay Bar, at an age when most people would be on the look-out for a career, Mr. Jinnah was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council and loomed large in the public eye. There was definiteness in whatever he spoke and

he was delivering 200-words-a-minute addresses on *Waqf* and other legal topics when most others would not have dared to speak on any subject with authority.

His Assembly speeches are remarkable in the respect that his repartees are both arresting in beauty and crushing in result. Mr. Jinnah is noted for giving hard knock-outs to the Government. It is impossible to give many instances of his power of debate in a book of this sort. So only a few instances are quoted at random from the Central Assembly proceedings, which mark him out as a parliamentarian of gifts, able statesman and ready-witted rhetorician.

On January 22, 1935, when Mr. Sarat Bose was kept in detention for three years, Mr. Jinnah in a vigorous speech said: "Here is a member who though arrested in February 1932 has been kept under detention and when challenged to put him to trial or release him, the Government takes neither step. Mr. Bose is a qualified member of the House and capable of exercising the rights as a member of the House. What is the use of quoting Parliamentary precedents when this House is not a sovereign House? How does the Government justify the detention of Mr. Bose for one single day? Even if there is no question of privilege, is not the Assembly entitled to censure the Government for detaining without trial any person, in this case a member of the House?"

Mr. Jinnah's vehement speech in support of

the amendment on the Indo-British Pact was voted down on January 30, 1935. Mr. Jinnah's single and straight queries addressed to the Treasury Benches were terrible. Official case was shattered by the force of his arguments. He asked:

"If the Pact enunciated no new principle, carved no new policy and aimed at the crystallisation of past practice, why give it form in a solemn treaty and put the noose round India's neck?" When the Finance Member propped up: "When does the Government levy duties on Indian imports?" Mr. Jinnah silenced Sir James Grigg telling him, "Don't betray your ignorance."

On February 4, 1935, the J.P.C. Report was discussed. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's amendment and Mr. Jinnah's amendment were discussed by Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member. Analysing the amendments, Sir N. N. Sircar said that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's motion was quite intelligible and meant that though the present constitution was bad, the proposed constitution was worse and that the mover did not want legislation on the basis of that scheme. Other amendments raised specific matters. All these proposals were also intelligible, but the Government found some difficulty in understanding the attitude of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was in three parts: it affirmed the Communal Award and as for the constitutional structure, it said that the foundation and first storey be removed

and that the second storey be kept with changes in the ceiling, the floor and walls and with enlargement of window and yet Mr. Jinnah stated that he was not out for destruction like other horrible people (laughter). He proceeded:

"I dare say my Honourable friend will explain his position. The only difficulty is created by the fact that some of his arguments are so subtle that it is difficult to follow them (Mr. Jinnah: Hear, hear). I was going to say that instead of this honest, direct and frontal attack which comes from Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, we have this a disingenuous, indirect attack from Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, although directed with the identical purpose." (Congress: Hear, hear). Mr. Jinnah: "I won't be offended if the Law Member does not pronounce my name from beginning to the end" (laughter).

Sir N. N. Sircar: "When I was a novice, I called Mr. Lalchand Navalrai by the first name and I was told I was wrong. I took a lesson from that experience. However, in the case of Mr. Jinnah, I take his advice."

Speaking the same day, Mr. Desai referred that the Law Member had stated that there was no difference between his (Desai's) and Mr. Jinnah's proposition. That gave him strength of alliance which he valued.

Mr. Jinnah, dealing first with Mr. Desai's amendment, said that it meant flat rejection of the entire scheme and neutrality over the Communal

Award. As for the communal question, Mr. Jinnah's own self-respect would not be satisfied until Indians produced their own settlement (cheers). And he added:

"I accept the award because unless I accept that, no scheme of constitution is possible (applause). I agree with Mr. Desai that religion, race and language should not enter politics, but the question of minorities is a political issue, faced and solved by other countries. It is as a political minority that I want protection and safeguard. Mr. Desai says: 'Acquisition first, distribution afterwards.' Why did then Mr. Gandhi fast unto death and enter into the Poona Pact? I congratulate him and Hindus for that settlement by which they have reconciled their depressed brethren but did they wait for acquisition before distribution? (applause). Join hands with us in the same spirit. We are ready."

Mr. Jinnah next explained his own amendment, which the Law Member had characterised as "crooked and tortuous." "We know in Law Courts that when a person has weak case he indulges in abuse. The Law Member says that I am destroying the foundation of a house with an upper storey, but there is no upper storey and the only story is the pretty story of the Law Member. Go and tell these stories to children!" (laughter)

Mr. Jinnah quoted from the J.P.C. Report showing that Provincial Autonomy would come into being immediately and Federation was

conditional upon the fulfilment of certain conditions, and if they did not materialise, His Majesty's Government would take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion.

Mr. Jinnah continued:

"My reply is, I have seen your Federal Scheme. I don't want to wait for these conditions. The scheme is thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable. Withdraw it. Between the conditions laid down by the Princes and the iron-wall safeguards, I am nowhere." Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that the Government sometimes said the Congress represented the whole of India and, at other times, that it was a small seditious minority, and asked, "Where do I come in?" (laughter)

"But am I going to be penalised for the talk of a section of my countrymen? What about your Churchill, Lloyd, O'Dwyer and Craddock? I go by what they say. I will kick you out from India at once. I say that this constitution you are proposing for the Centre is worse than the present constitution. This constitution means absolute sacrifice of all that British India stands for and has worked for and has developed during the last fifty years in the matter of representative form of Government. I appeal to the Princes: Is this responsibility? The Home Member asked whether we were willing to go on under the existing humiliating and intolerable constitution. My answer is what is coming is

more humiliating and more intolerable. We are told we are playing the game of Mr. Churchill." Sir Henry Craik: "You are doing it." Mr. Jinnah: "If you want to misunderstand us, do so; if you want to misrepresent us, do so. Mr. Churchill does not want any advance at the Centre. I want the whole position to be reviewed to establish responsible Government in my country (cheers). Lord Irwin's announcement promised legislation based on the largest measure of agreement. This scheme may have the largest common measure of agreement in the Conservative Party but there is no agreement with us. The British people's idea of partnership is, 'We will call you partner if you do what we tell you.' The British demand for co-operation and goodwill means, 'You must submit to what I say.'

Mr. Jinnah, continuing, said:

"This idea of Federation is a design to withhold a responsibility at the Centre. We are put on wrong track. They put us in a vicious circle of responsibility at the Centre without Federation. If Federation drops, Provincial Autonomy drops. My experience of the first Round Table Conference is that our proposals were rejected by the Sankey Report. At the second Conference in every suggestion we made, they saw what it would give us and they made safeguards to prevent that happening (applause). At the third Round Table Conference, the same thing happened and chronic and incurable co-operators, like Mr. Mody, persisted on the Joint Parlia-

mentary Committee discussions. Their joint memorandum has been thrown into the waste-paper basket (applause). We may be helpless but our self-respect demands we should tell you that we do not want this scheme. The Secretary of State has told the House of Commons that the safeguards are going to be used and that the Service and Army stood behind them to put them into effect. Sir Joseph Bhore has read from Abraham Lincoln. That was like a devil quoting scripture!"

Dealing finally with Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Jinnah admitted it was undoubtedly an advance on the present position (applause). The framework of responsibility envisaged in the scheme was an advance and his desire was that this modification suggested therein should be made. Whereas Mr. Bhulabhai Desai had rejected the proposals, Mr. Jinnah said, he had made counter-proposals.

On February 10, 1938, Mr. Jinnah, who was a rare visitor to the House, gave his views on the motion to amend the Railway Act. He showed himself as the most uncompromising opponent of Federation. He said: "We can never agree to the Government imposing the whole scheme on us. I must oppose the Bill wholesale as it seeks, bit by bit and step by step, to bring into force, directly or indirectly, the Federal part of the Government of India Act to which we are stoutly opposed" (cheers from Muslim and Congress benches).

Mr. Asaf Ali, Secretary to the Congress Party, said the Congress Party would have opposed the Bill if it was assured by other parties that they were with them (Congress).

Mr. Jinnah, intervening, complained that the Congress Party was not co-operating with other parties and if it had done so on this occasion his party (Independents) would have only been too glad to co-operate with the Congress.

When Mr. Asaf Ali sermonised, "I welcome Mr. Jinnah's gesture and the Congress Party are ever willing to co-operate," Mr. Jinnah retorted: "Don't say it. But *do* it."

On December 8, 1936, the debate on the Income-tax Bill commenced, when Mr. Jinnah very vigorously underlined Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's points. The strange spectacle of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai paying tributes to each other was also seen. Mr. Desai acknowledged Mr. Jinnah's great astuteness in obtaining concessions. He proceeded: "No party can get sixteen annas from a compromise," when Mr. Satyamurti intervened: "The Finance Member has got sixteen annas."

Mr. Subedar: "What about the *bona fides* of the House?" (laughter)

Mr. Jinnah: "It has been fully established." (cheers)

Mr. Subedar: Then the Finance Member must withdraw his words."

Mr. Jinnah: "When the *bona fides* has been fully established there is no need for anybody to

withdraw anything" (renewed cheers).

On March 28, 1939, when the Indo-British Trade Pact was rejected, Mr. Jinnah in a forceful speech defined the Muslim League Party's attitude of neutrality. His speech this time was as usual fascinating and logical. Earlier in the debate Mr. (now Sir) F.E. James compared Mr. Jinnah to Greta Garbo (laughter) because of his illusiveness and inscrutability (more laughter), but who was now more like the old woman who lived in a shoe, who did not know what to do with her numerous factious children (renewed laughter) to take this agreement which was stripped of all the undesirable qualities of the Ottawa Pact. He appealed to the House to take a long and wide view, and not to look at the agreement from the point of view of any one interest.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised the Muslim League Party's attitude and gave reasons for the same. He asked: "What then does the Government want me to do now? What does Mr. James want me to do? Mr. James has compared me to a film star. Mr. James threatened me with dire consequences when the resolution terminating the Ottawa Agreement was passed. Mr. James has said that Japan is ready with its knife, and that Great Britain would only be too glad to put an end to the agreement. I can only compare him with Marlene Dietrich (laughter). He can only play tragic part, and that is a tragedy. I do not follow him. Today what

song is he singing? He says that this is an enormous improvement on Ottawa. The Government are also beckoning me. Cinderella is to be taken to the ball-room, to have her round with the prince and then be sent to the kitchen. Greta Garbo is not going to be Cinderella. She is going to be a star artiste (more laughter). You cannot go on like that, and ask me to walk into your parlour. I say this agreement is a *fait accompli*. It was to come into force on April 1. Government ask: 'Cannot we find some scapegoat, somebody who could be made a tool of, so that we can say that the House has accepted the agreement?' I refuse to play that role (hear, hear). As I have described to you, 95 per cent of the interest in this agreement is that of Hindu capitalists and non-Muslim capitalists. I do not grudge, let them flourish. But this is a fight between British capitalists and mainly Hindu capitalists. They are represented by these benches (pointing to the Congress benches). Who am I to tell them from what point of view and from what basis they should start? They say that this bargain is a swindle. The mill-owners also say that it is a swindle. Then, may I know, why should I support you (addressing Government benches)? What have you done for me?"

On April 14, 1939, there was a debate on Sugar Duty Bill. Sir A. H. Ghaznavi flung some abuses on the Congress Party and maintained that though he disobeyed Mr. Jinnah's instruc-

tion he could best serve the interests of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah appeared "a curious mixture of bitterness and remorse today." He shot and attacked on Ghaznavi and reserved all his wrath for the Commerce Secretary who had told the Council of State that Mr. Jinnah had thrown dust into his followers' eyes.

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to reply to the criticisms in a certain section of the press and outside which had blamed the Muslim League Party on the ground that it took up a "communal attitude" on the Indo-British Trade Agreement. "It is absolutely false," declared Mr. Jinnah. "I do maintain that we are here to consider also the interests of Mussalmans. That does not mean that we are indifferent or hostile to the larger interests of India." He had made it clear that just as the Leader of the Opposition claimed to represent his constituency, the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, so also the Muslim League Party must take into consideration the interests of Mussalmans also. "To my great regret Sir M. Zafrullah Khan said—I think he must be sorry for it now—that he was surprised that 'a man of the standing and ability of Mr. Jinnah should have introduced the communal note.' The very basis of his presence in this House is that he is a Mussalman" (cheers from the Muslim League benches).

On November 21, 1940, Mr. Jinnah explained League's attitude in a very cogent and logical speech. He reiterated the Muslim League's

determination not to embarrass the Government and asked the Congress Party: "Why not you and I put our heads together and present a common united demand to Mr. Amery or the British Parliament or the British nation"? (hear, hear)

Speaking about Pakistan he said: "Mind you, I do not say I am satisfied with the acceptance of the principle, but it is not a question of my being satisfied. Nobody is going to get sixteen annas, and believe me, especially when you are in the grip of danger, it is not wise for one party or the other to put up extraordinary demands because that is not business. That is, therefore, the very reason why we have never said a word that you should agree to give me Pakistan before I support you. And believe me, whatever my friends of the Congress Party may say, we have finally determined that it is our only goal, and we shall fight for it and die for it (cheers). Make no mistake about it. Democracy is dead, democracy of Mr. Desai's kind" (renewed cheers).

"We may be less in numbers and we are, but we can give you, I venture to say, and I am not saying this by way of threat but by way of information to you, hundred times more trouble than the Congress can give, if we so determine. But we do not want it. You will realise it. We do not want to do it even now."

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that the Congress leaders had always had at the back of their minds the idea that the Congress alone represent-

ed the country. That was the reason why there had been no settlement between Hindus and Muslims. The Congress had the idea that all that minorities could press for were safeguards as minorities. Mussalmans always had at the back of their minds during the last twenty-five years that they were a separate entity."

Mr. Aney interrupted: "That was not the view of Mr. Jinnah in 1920."

Mr. Jinnah said that the Lucknow Pact was passed on the fundamental principle of two separate entities.

Again Mr. Aney butted in with: "I was there."

Shot back Mr. Jinnah: "You may have been there but you were not even heard of. That has been the idea at the back of Mussalman mind. That is why Mussalmans insisted upon the separation of Sind. Outwardly, other reasons might have been given for it and against it; but that was the real reason for it."

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai intervened to say: "Is it not unfortunate for Sind just now"?

Mr. Jinnah again retorted: "We are all unfortunate. Nobody is fortunate just now."

Mr. Jinnah's parliamentary flair is most remarkable. Even the fastidious London *Times* has showered its best praises on his career and conduct in the Assembly. Mr. Jinnah is a powerful debater. And he is a master of tactics and strategy. His leadership of the Independent Party in the Assembly was a signal triumph.

Mr. Jinnah is the very embodiment of courage. He can stand up to any man. "There sits the Commander-in-Chief," he would say and point his accusing finger at the star-spangled military dignitary. Mr. Jinnah's sibilant voice and direct manner are such as would stiffen the upper lips or the somnolent occupants of the Treasury bench. He was the only Indian colleague in the Assembly for whom Pandit Motilal had real respect and that is saying a good deal.

Admirers of his unique parliamentary talents are many. Sir F. E. James has observed: "I have greatly admired Mr. Jinnah's unique parliamentary gifts. As a political strategist it is difficult to find his equal in India today." Mr. Satyamurti once described him as "a politician to his finger-tips."

5

NATIONALIST FIRST AND LAST

Mr. Jinnah's politics is very interesting. When he returned from England he was full of life bubbling with enthusiasm ; and actuated by a keen sense of patriotism, he wanted to serve his motherland. Besides, he was very much influenced by Dadabhoy Naoroji during his stay in London. From his boyhood, Mr. Jinnah had developed a passion for his religion and his mother country. His ambition was to be considered as one of the Faithful and at the same time one of India's greatest sons; to put it shortly, he was anxious to earn the sobriquet, "The Muslim Gokhale."

Mr. Gokhale was Mr. Jinnah's early model. Mr. Jinnah followed him both in spirit and deed. Mr. Gokhale's life was an inspiration and he tried to emulate him in all spheres. Mr. Gokhale was a bold champion of the rights of men, often fearlessly condemned and opposed the measures of Government and found fault with the administration of the country, but never had he exceeded the limits of decency and moderation. In this respect Mr. Jinnah followed Mr. Gokhale to the extreme. His respectful behaviour won for him universal recognition and soon he became an all-India figure. If he was an Indian first, he was a Muslim foremost. He made no

secret of his unflinching patriotism. A man may be known by the company he keeps; but Mr. Jinnah is known by the speeches he has made. In the year 1925, while discussing the Indian Finance Bill in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, he said: "I never was a candidate and I am not a candidate for any post. I, sir, stand here with a clear conscience and I say that I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last. I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, for God's sake do not import the discussion of communal matters into this House and degrade this Assembly which we desire should become a real National Parliament. Set an example to the outside world and our people."

Certain it is that Mr. Jinnah was from the very beginning a staunch Congressman; his own political views had been shaped by Gokhale, Dadabhoy, Surendranath Banerjee and C. R. Das whom he adopted as his political *gurus* and for whom he had the greatest respect. In the course of a speech in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lessons in politics at the feet of Sir Surendranath Banerjee. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, the only lesson I feel that we might

draw from the career of this great man is this: in unity lies salvation."

In fact his patriotic zeal was so great and his nationalistic enthusiasm so intense that he became the hero of all and even Mr. Gokhale spoke of him as "one who has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which makes him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." So much so, Mr. Jinnah became the beloved of Hindus and Muslims alike, and there was none more fitted to be called the 'Ambassador of Unity.' No doubt both in the old reformed Council and in the new Legislative Assembly he represented only purely communal constituencies, but this did not prevent him from enjoying the esteem and regard of the Hindus.

In spite of the fact that Mr. Jinnah exhibited great religious fervour at the time of marriage, some interested orthodox Muslims considered Mr. Jinnah's marriage as something outside the pale of orthodoxy and had their misgivings about the religious convictions of Mr. Jinnah, but it must be said to the credit of this great leader of Indian Muslims that from the very beginning, both in his private life as well as in his outside conduct, he has demonstrated himself as a staunch believer in Islam. Innumerable quotations can be produced in support of this. The following extracts from his speech throw sufficient light on his strong adherence to his faith:

"There is one word more, sir, before I finish.

I do not think it necessary to mention these things really, but one is forced into this lest one may be misunderstood. But for the present state of the Mussalman community and in some quarters in particular, I do not think it is necessary for Mussalman to say that he would not do anything either in this Council or outside this Council which is likely to prejudice the interest or the cause of his community. I, sir, yield to none in that respect. If this Bill (The Elementary Education Bill introduced by Gokhale) had been referred to a Select Committee, and I wish it, if certain requirements were not embodied in this Bill by the Select Committee to safeguard the Mussalmans and this Bill would have come before this Council without those requirements which I think will be necessary in the interests of the Muslims in the present state of the condition of the people in this country, I would have been the first to oppose that Bill until and unless those requirements were incorporated in the Bill. But that is not the question; that is not the point before the Council today. Therefore I will only rest content by saying this: that if this Bill were not referred to the Select Committee and if this Bill did not provide for certain requirements and modifications which I think are just in the interests of the Mussalmans, I would certainly then be the first to oppose it."

On another occasion, while the Indian Shipping (Second Amendment) Bill was being discussed, he said:

"Sir, I am one of those men who do not mind vilification or misrepresentation. Any man who enters into the public life takes it as in the day's work that you are vilified and you are misrepresented. But that is not going to prevent us on the floor of this House from doing our duty according to our convictions. Now, sir, as the Honourable Sir Muhammad Habibullah has said, if I thought that this measure was against the tenets of our religion, I certainly would not be a contesting party to it. Then if we are satisfied that it is not against Islam or the interests of Islam and the community, what is the next question that we have got to consider in this House? On the merits, is this Bill a beneficent Bill or is it not? That is the next question. Well, sir, I am satisfied that it is for the benefit of my community and, therefore, I have no hesitation in giving my assent to this Bill."

Instances of this kind can be multiplied from most of his speeches wherein he has always laid emphasis on the fact that a Muslim should not deviate from the tenets of his religion which ought to be the first article of his faith.

By interested persons he has been accused of being not interested in Islam, but at heart Mr. Jinnah's love for his religion is most intense. It was only guided by this regard for his religion that Mr. Jinnah became an authority on Muhammadan Law and it was this 'attachment' that impelled him to sponsor the Waqf Validating Bill in the Imperial Council in 1913, sitting as a

special member for an extra term for that purpose.

In supporting the Bill, he made this remark: "What we have got to do is to administer the Muhammadan Law to the Mussalmans, and therefore to introduce the question of public policy, to my mind, is outside the question ; and therefore, there is no such thing as public policy of any kind, so far as Muslim jurisprudence is concerned to which the provisions of this Bill are in any way opposed. I therefore give that simple answer to that point."

It is wrong to think that Mr. Jinnah was not in the good books of Muslims from the beginning. On the contrary, ever since he won a name for himself he had not only won the confidence of the Muslims but also his position as a leader of the Muslims was always unchallenged as it is today. Again and again he was returned, from the beginning, to the Imperial Legislative Council of the Morley-Minto Reforms from Muslim constituency and as a Muslim member from Bombay. Simply because he was representing a communal constituency, never did Mr. Jinnah take into the Council Hall communal strife. It does not mean that he forgot his voters and failed in his duty towards them. He kept up a strong vigilance and watched zealously and saw to it that the fact of the Muslims being a minority was never used against their interests. And he never allowed encroachments on the interests of the Muslims, their law and their religion. Everyone

had a good word for every act he did. He always had in mind the good of the community which often and again reposed its confidence in him and elected him as its accredited representative. But his interest in the community never weaned away his love for the motherland and his impressive speeches on the Elementary Education Bill, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill and Transfer of Ships Restriction Bill bear testimony to his adherence to patriotic views. Whenever he felt that the interests of the nation were not safe in the hands of the Government, he minced no words to say it boldly. His frank and undaunted attacks in the Council and Assembly are very famous. His speeches on the Police Administration, on the working of the Indian Railways and on the Budgets were clear and to the point and constituted powerful whiplash on the ways and methods of the bureaucracy.

His speech during the discussion of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was also fiery. He was of the opinion that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or the measures of the Government was the duty of every member of the State. But he was thoroughly against such emotional and 'misguided enthusiasm' which defied law and order but created only nuisance value. He always believed in legitimately fighting for a cause and would never be a willing party to the action of hitting below the belt.

The following extract from his speech in connection with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill throws enough light on his strength of conviction to maintain which he fought often.

"I wish to express that nobody condemns in stronger terms the misdeeds of which a long list was given to us a few minutes ago by the Home Member. I also wish to express that every attempt on the part of my countrymen to undermine the authority of the Government and to disturb law and order deserves, in my opinion, the strongest condemnation and the highest punishment. These men who have a desire to undermine the authority of the Government, these men who have a desire to disturb law and order, are, in my opinion, the highest enemies of my country and my people. They are today doing the greatest harm to the cause of India."

Mr. Jinnah had set principles. He had abomination for those who trespassed the laws. He had no sympathy for the anarchist. He always hoped to bring the Government to its proper senses; he believed that the Government could be reformed only by constitutional means. At times there were moments when contemplating about the Government he used to feel like sighing 'Nothing doing'—but even then not for a single second did he consider that the ways adopted by revolutionaries and anarchists would bear fruit.

Mr. Jinnah is a frank and probably the most

outspoken of men. He never kept his views to himself. What he felt sincerely he made public ; let people think what they may. Once in the Imperial Council he boldly remarked :

"Sir, I believe in criticising the Government freely and frankly ; but at the same time that it is the duty of every educated man to support and help the Government when the Government is right."

It is on this foundation that his political attitude towards the Government is built and only in consonance with this theory he lent his support to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and also the Press Bill.

Mr. Jinnah was not one of those who criticised the Government downright without rhyme or reason. He did not, like many, attack the policies of the Government without suggesting constructive way-outs.

Here is an extract from a speech which goes to show what he expects of a Government to do in case it wants to win the confidence of its subjects :

"My Lord, if you want India to care for your Government, to stand by you, to co-operate with you, what we want is that the spirit of the Government should be Indian (no matter whether the personnel is foreign or Indian) and that on occasions when the interests of India are likely to suffer, when any injustice is going to be done, our Government and those who are at the head of the Government should stand up for us

and speak for us as any Indian would do."

His treatment of the British was not inimical. He was no race-hater. He had no enmity for them. He wanted them either to govern properly or get out. He did not want to drive them out of India. Even to a foreign personnel in the Government he had no objection ; he never desired the exclusion of Englishmen from Indian Civil Service. But what he fought for was equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal advantages given to the Englishmen and Indians alike without any sort of discrimination whatever.

6

JOINS LEAGUE

Mr. Jinnah's political career began as an ardent nationalist for it was the common thing to be in those days. He was in the Congress for a long time and was attached to it very passionately. In the beginning he caught the public eye only at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, in which year for the first time in the national awakening Dadabhoy Naoroji, who presided over the Congress, explained the goal of Indian national struggle as *swaraj*. Then Mr. Jinnah was working as the private secretary to this 'Grand Old Man'—Dadabhoy Naoroji. As a routine, he had been attending every Congress session. But only at the Calcutta session, Mr. Jinnah made his first public appearance by making his maiden speech on family *Waqfs,* which he boldly advocated later during its discussions in the Legislative Council.

In 1906 the Muslim League was established to safeguard the interests of the Muslims. Though Mr. Jinnah appreciated the formation of the League to advance the cause of Muslims, the narrow sectarianism did not appeal to him much and so he did not take any active part in it. But all the same his sympathies were with the Muslims. In the year 1910 there was a big Conference of Hindus and Muslims held at

Allahabad under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn. At the request of the Muslim League, which had great respect for Mr. Jinnah even though he was not a member of the organisation, he attended that Conference. His main purpose in attending the Conference was to bring unity between the Hindus and Muslims. He always strove to achieve this aim though the goal he contemplated was ever receding from him. The man was ready, but the time had not come. Nothing favourable or substantial was achieved at this Conference. But better days, however, were ahead. Two years later, *i.e.*, in 1912, there met the prominent Muslim leaders at Calcutta in a Conference to consider and remodel the constitution of the All-India Muslim League on more progressive and patriotic lines. The League's Secretary went on a long tour gathering Muslim opinions and in December 1912, a special Council meeting was held to consider varied proposals. Mr. Jinnah was present at the meeting by special invitation to render help to the proceedings. Let it be remembered that he was then also outside the League. His Highness the Agha Khan presided over the deliberations and a new constitution emerged out, which was again very enthusiastically adopted by the special open session of the League which met at Lucknow on the 22nd of March, 1913.

Mr. Jinnah attended this session, though still a non-member, and took part in the discussions and gave his invaluable support in drafting the

new constitution. It is said that only because of his strong advocacy a resolution was drafted which in spirit embodied the Congress ideal or "attainment under the ægis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means by bringing about a steady record of the existing system of administration, by promoting unity, by fostering public spirit and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose."

In 1913, Mr. Jinnah turned a new leaf in his career. He had been a member of this Legislative Council for the past three years. He was, in fact, one of the brightest members in the House. This year, he introduced and successfully piloted the Waqf Validating Bill. For the first time in the annals of Indian Legislature a Bill introduced by a private member became Law. He displayed during the progress of the Bill great powers as a tactician and debater and as one who can drive home a point forcibly and successfully.

Now since the Muslim League had a forward policy and an advanced new constitution and as Mr. Jinnah himself had a lion's share in giving it shape, it was felt that Mr. Jinnah should be invited to join the League. Accordingly Maulana Muhammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan, the two leading lights of the League, persuaded Mr. Jinnah to join the League. At the close of the year 1913, Mr. Jinnah became a member of the League—to him enrolment was a sacrament,

At the outset he agreed to sign the League pledge only on the condition that never would his interests in the Muslim League and Muslim cause mean a change of loyalties and that his *bona fides* would not be questioned in the larger national cause. Since then Mr. Jinnah has been an ardent Muslim Leaguer and his attachment with it has become a relation of flesh and bones.

He was a man of stuff and consequently it was not difficult for him to make his influence felt on others. By and by he rose in the estimation of his colleagues and became a full-fledged Congressman. Not a single annual session did he miss and at every session he made a mark by his prominent presence and dominating part in the deliberations. In 1913 when the Congress session met at Karachi, he made a laudable speech. Let it be remembered that Karachi was his birthplace and he felt proud of the fact as is well evident from the following passage from his speech :

"You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city of Karachi, where I was born, where I have found by my side, after my arrival in this city, personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood."

It was at this session that Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution disapproving of the then existing India Council and pleading for its reorientation on sound and progressive lines. His chief suggestions were (1) that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the British

estimates, (2) that the independence of the Council should be secured by providing for election by the members of the Legislative Councils in India, and (3) that character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative.

While advocating these suggestions for the acceptance of the Congress he remarked that the then constitution of the Council made the Secretary of State a greater Moghul than any Moghul that ruled India. And added to this, those persons who were on the Council were with settled opinions and as such there was no opportunity for the representation of the views of non-official Indians and "that the Council unduly interfered with the details of the administration." At the Agra session of the Muslim League which met at the same time he expressed and advocated the same opinion for in those days there was no ban on anyone from being a member of the League and the Congress at the same time. And while in London, when the Congress delegates were entertained by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Jinnah very strongly took up arms against the proposed portfolio system and waged a war for seats in the India Council to be filled up by election from India. He amplified the Congress attitude towards the Bill and issued a statement to the London *Times*, very strongly criticising the Bill, saying :

"I cannot but say that the provisions contained there are most disappointing and I feel sure

that that is how the people of India will receive it ; what hope can measures like this inspire the people of India who are working forward to bigger and more substantial reforms in time to come when in matters such as reform of the Council of the Secretary of the State for India, which is after all more advisory in its character than anything else, the just proposals of the Deputation appointed by the Indian National Congress have not been accepted ?"

7

LUCKNOW PACT

Mr. Gokhale died in 1915. In the following year Mr. Jinnah was elected as the President of the All-India Muslim League which met at Lucknow in December. In October 1916, Mr. Jinnah presided over the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. In his presidential address, he remarked :

"Granting that there is peace, prosperity and efficient administration in the hands of the civil servants, is that any reason that the control, the management and the administration of the affairs of our country should for ever be continued as monopoly in the hands of a bureaucratic Government? Is that any reason why the commissioned ranks in the Military and Naval services should be closed to the sons of India? Is that any reason for denying to Indians the right to join the Volunteer Corps and for continuing the application of the Arms Act? . . . The first question that arises is whether this system of administration conducted by the civil servants who are neither under the control of nor responsible to the people who pay their salaries, can any longer continue. It is said that they are responsible to the Secretary of State for India and that the Secretary of State for India in turn is responsible to Parliament . . . . Is it possible or

rational as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India? When it was found that it was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South Africa, with few millions, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London?"

Once when a debate about giving full powers to the Finance Member was in full swing, Mr. Jinnah, supporting an amendment, said: "This Executive is not responsible to any Legislature except Parliament 7,000 miles away, and Parliament has no time to keep an eye on the Honourable Member who represents the Finance Department."

Then came the question of joint and separate electorates. See what noble thoughts inspired him to consider the need for communal electorates:

"To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand, the demand for separate electorate is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity to the Muslims who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long."

But his support for separate electorates was not based on animosity towards the Hindus. Far from it. He had always been an ardent

worker for Hindu-Muslim unity. His concluding para bears testimony to this. He said:

"In conclusion, let me tell you that after all a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Muslims, united and firm, the voices of three hundred million of people, vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has, I believe, turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and a great future in front of her. We are on a straight road; the promised land is in sight. 'Forward' is the motto and clear course for young India. But in the onward march, we must be circumspect, and never lose sight of the true perspective before us. And wisdom and caution should be our watchword."

The sobriquet 'Ambassador of Unity' was not conferred on him for nothing. From the early political career he has been straining every nerve and trying for unity, and as early as 1913, he has said:

"We have now reached the active stage when we realise that we must co-operate with one another for national work."

Since then he has been trying his level best to effect a union between the League and the Congress and between the moderates and the extremists. He was in turn a Congressman, a Muslim Leaguer and a Home Ruler and Presi-

dent of the Bombay Home Rule League. Justifying his presence in the Home Rule League, he said:

"I wish to say why it was that I joined the Home Rule League. When representations were made and resolutions passed year after year by the National Congress, when their demands were pressed last year in that carefully drafted memorandum of the 19 members of the Imperial Council, it was said that it was the demand only of a few educated agitators and lawyers, but that the masses were not ready for any such reform. It was to meet that attack, which was made in this country as well as in England, it was to remove that misrepresentation that they resolved that there should be an educative propaganda, and that they should reach the masses and put the verdict of the masses not only before the bureaucracy but before the Democracy of Great Britain."

In the Calcutta Congress he moved for the adoption of the Congress-League scheme and very masterfully defended it. In the same Congress he gave his full support to the Self-government resolution. In 1915 itself, to clear misunderstandings from the minds of the Muslim leaders, he issued an appeal to them to attend the simultaneous sessions in Bombay. In the course of his appeal he stated:

"I wish to state with the greatest emphasis that there is no truth in the baseless statements made in some quarters that any responsible

Muslim leader thinks that the League should be merged into the Indian National Congress. But a conference in collaboration, if possible, is the object, and what objection is there to this course?"

Thus a Congress-League session was possible and an eye-witness described it thus: "Seldom has the pageant of times unrolled a scene so touching, so thrilling, so magnificent with drama and dressing as was enacted in the afternoon of December 30, 1915, when amidst the cheers and applause of the gathered multitude the veteran heroes of the National Congress entered in a body to greet and bless the comrades of the Muslim League!"

His presidential address at the Muslim League session (1916) is very interesting. He referred to India's loyalty to the empire ideal:

"What India has given in service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the stronger of the fighting forces of civilisation which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically-organised barbarism. In this willing service of the people of India there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion. In this service there has been no cold, calculated instinct at work. It has sprung from a clear compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and not from any

commercial desire to make a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself."

Then he passed through 'a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulged freely and provocatively when the least menace arose to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power' and pointed out that 'India was quite fit for freedom and that she would be partner within the Empire and her determination was to achieve that goal and nothing less would satisfy her.' He also explained how the Muslims and Hindus were united in holding the Congress and League sessions at Bombay in 1915 and again at Lucknow in 1916. After what amount of endeavour, these simultaneous sessions were held is evident from his League Address in 1916:

"The simultaneous sessions were brought about with no little labour, anxiety and trouble. I do not wish to go into the past controversy but I venture to say that the session of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results. The League rose phœnix-like, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations, with added strength of resolution in carrying out its programme. The main principle on which the first All-India Muslim political organisation was based was the retention of Muslim communal individuality strong and

unimpaired in any constitutional readjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution. The creed has grown and broadened with the growth of political life and thought in the community. I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of separation sometimes levelled at Mussalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark, when I see this communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of a United India. A minority must above everything else have broader political sense which can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the national tasks; to the Mussalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community."

Then he referred to the Congress-League scheme in bringing about which he played so important a part and put forth a proposal to draft a Bill, an amending Bill to the Government of India Act by constitutional lawyers. Mr. Jinnah was one of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council who drafted and submitted the famous Memorandum on the Reforms and a new Constitution. His activities along with the Congress-League Deputation to England for bringing about changes in the proposed Montford Reforms and his evidence before the Joint Committee were very praiseworthy. He stated in his address:

"I was one of the signatories (to the Memorandum of the nineteen members) and I would urge upon you to follow them (the proposals) substantially so far as fundamental principles are involved in those proposals ; those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe a duty to Government and the people alike as 'chosen representatives' and not in a spirit of bargaining ; those demands are the minimum in the strict sense of the word . . . Co-operation in the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle."

With the advent of the Reforms, Mr. Jinnah found himself in his proper place in the Legislative Assembly and there he organised the Nationalist Party. He took an active part in the debate for the grant of full self-governing Dominion Status to India and supported Pandit Motilal Nehru. When this passage from his evidence before the Joint Committee was cited to him :

"We have no other method to suggest. Dyarchy fits in more with the order of things as they exist at present in India and it can be justified on the ground that it is for a transitional period," Mr. Jinnah replied :

"My proposal was that there should be dyarchy in the Central Government also" and added : "We have realised, sir, that dyarchy has failed."

His view about dyarchy was one of very great

importance. It will be noted that he was one of the members of the Reforms Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman. So he took this opportunity of giving weight to his views which were published in the Reforms Enquiry Report in March 1925. It was an important stage in the history of the Reform Movement in India. The majority report signed by the President and four others defended the present system and suggested a few slight modifications in the Act with a view to pacifying the national demand which was becoming more and more insistent. As against this, was the Minority Report signed by Mr. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P.S. Sivaswami Iyer and Dr. Paranjpye vehemently opposing dyarchy.

In the Central Assembly, in February 1925, a resolution was moved requesting and urging the Governor-General to take early steps for establishing a well-equipped Military College in India. His speech on this point was remarkable in the fact that it impressed the House as well as the Government who received many a hit during the course of Mr. Jinnah's speech. He deplored very much the policy of drift adopted by the Government and took them to task for the undue delay in Indianising the army. He even went a step further, condemned the Government, questioned their sincerity in relation to their promises at an early stage to militarise Indian elements. It was, without doubt, his masterful and biting speech which resulted in the appointment of the

Skeen Committee.

During the discussion, Mr. Jinnah said: "It is wholly unsatisfactory, and unless His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief comes into this House with a proper scheme which will convince us of a real beginning, not a rebellious beginning, not merely a sort of (a voice: 'eye-wash') just eye-wash but a real thing, then I shall welcome it." When Mr. R. D. Bell intervened and said: "Eye-wash is a very good thing for sore eyes," Mr. Jinnah silenced in the interrupter saying: "But what happens when you have got no eyes and will not see? You are trifling with this House. I can only say that none are so blind as those who will not see."

He always fought for a righteous cause. In the Assembly once he made a speech for the protection of Indian industries as a whole even though it affected the interests of the city of Bombay from where he was returned. His love for India could not be diminished by his love for his own city: "I say I am not going to be guided by my own city that I love. I have got here as a member of this Assembly to consider the larger and national interests; and that is the only consideration which will always weigh with me. Certainly, I would be the first to assist Bombay if I could, but not at the expense of larger interests."

One of the most important traits in the character of Mr. Jinnah is his independent outlook on political issues. This was manifest to

the full when he protested against the Lee Report. He admitted the worth of Superior Service but boldly criticised their extravagant claims,—'claims which are incompatible with the policy of Indianisation besides being a heavy drain on the finances of India.' However, he supported the resolution on the Lee Commission Report wherein he urged that his own community must be given the opportunity to serve the Government :

"Speaking on behalf of my colleagues here who would agree with me, the Mussalmans do not desire anything else but their just and fair share and their proper rights and I feel confident also that there is no Hindu member in this House who would for a single moment grudge to the Mussalmans their just and fair rights ; and I am glad that the Home Member has also recognised that in his speech."

When the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill was discussed, Mr. Jinnah opposed it very vehemently. He condemned and criticised the bureaucracy in very strong and forceful words :

"It is nothing else but a disgrace to any civilised Government to resort to a measure of this character. I repeat without fear of contradiction that when the Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor-General it was condemned universally by the people of India. That Ordinance has not expired yet. It could be in force for six months only. In the face of public opinion, the obstinacy of the Government

has gone to such a length that, instead of coming to this Legislature, they take shelter under the local Legislature. They went to the Bengal Council; what did they find there? The Legislature of Bengal rejected the Bill; and how was it enacted? It was enacted by a process of certification, a certification which required the assent of His Majesty. And here I may say that I am shocked that such an abhorrent measure, that this abomination should have been placed on the table of the British Parliament and should have been allowed to pass the scrutiny and resentment which ought to have been shown against this measure. I am one of the greatest admirers of the British Parliament but when the British Parliament has come to this, I think I am entitled to say that certainly it has lost the title of Mother of Parliaments which it claims. Why is it that we show this resentment? Why is it that we are opposed to it so much? Why is it that it goes against our grain? The reason is a very simple one and it is this: that by this measure you are not giving any protection to the innocent, that the innocent are likely to be persecuted, that this is an engine of oppression and of repression of legitimate movements in this country and it has been abused in the past and there is every likelihood of its being abused in the future."

While speaking on the Ordinance, he would not lose sight of the dangers therein:

"I owe my allegiance to the King-Emperor.

What do I get in return for it, what do I claim in return for it? Protection of my liberty, my life and my property. My liberty should not be taken away without a judicial trial in a proper court where I have all the right to defend myself. Under this Ordinance, if I were a citizen of Calcutta, I should have to transfer my allegiance to Mr. Tegart, the Commissioner, because he is the only man who can give me protection and not His Majesty's High Court or His Majesty's other Courts."

Whatever subjects came up for discussion before the House, Mr. Jinnah took very active part in the proceedings. The Special Laws Repeals Bill, the Indian Finance Bill and Maternity Benefits Bill were fully discussed by him. He gave support to the resolution for establishing a Supreme Court for India.

In the Central Assembly Mr. Jinnah always took an independent attitude and never supported one particular party at all times. He had supported either the Liberals or the Swarajists. He at last recognised that he could not be going on like this and found himself the leader of a centre party. At the end of 1925, the Swarajist Party split into two, one favouring co-operation and the other bent upon obstruction.

Once again there appeared the good self of Mr. Jinnah to mediate and effect a union. He wanted to unite all or most of the existing parties. In case this failed, he wanted to create such a new Nationalist or Central

Party, which by and by would envelop both the Liberals and the Swarajists. With a view to discussing this possibility out, he convened a meeting and tried his best to form a new party. His views are best expressed in his own statement:

"My own opinion is that a party, on the lines of the Independent Party in the Assembly, should be formed outside in the country, because I know that a large bulk of opinion in the country does not approve either the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party and what is its practised policy or the programme of the Liberal Party and what is practised by them. I strongly hold that the time has come when a definite organisation should be started, which will stand midway between the two, so that we may level up the Liberals and level down the Swarajists. Until the public at large realise that, at present it is the only feasible and practicable way open. I fear the Government is not likely to be affected. As I have already said, empty and impotent threats will only give the Government a handle to resort to reactionary measures and a ruthless policy of repression under the name of law and order. The only use that we can make of legislatures is to create strong and powerful oppositions to the Government. Standing there as the people's party and backed up by the people throughout the country, we must carry on the struggle inch by inch. In the meantime, we must organise and train up our electorates not

necessarily as framed under the rules of the Government of India Act but by our natural electorates."

His has been a very brilliant political career. In the admiring words of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, he is endowed with "the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery and a voice while lacking in volume has an arresting timbre. He has the cogent force of a brilliant advocate and at Round Table Conferences his genius finds the fullest scope. His extraordinary powers of persuasion, his luminous exposition, his searching arguments, and his impeccable judgment are revealed at their best when he graces a Committee with his august presence."

In all public matters Mr. Jinnah took a very liberal view. He argued every point and judged every issue in his own lights. His discussion of a resolution, his support for a party or his opposition to the Government were all actuated by the sincere attitude of his in the best interests of the country.

It is this transparent sincerity of purpose and candour of utterances, this willingness to consider and pay regard to the opinions of others and to adopt them as his own when he was convinced, this toleration for people with other views, that characterised the part he played in the Bombay Representatives' Conference and in all his other enterprises as the "Ambassador of Unity."

8

DISILLUSIONMENT

The Ambassador of Unity was to get shock after shock when the majority community put hurdle after hurdle on his way. His political career till 1925 had been one of begging from the Congress in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity. He missed not a conference, not an opportunity, not an occasion, when great leaders met, to talk of communal harmony and to devise and chalk out programmes to bring it about. But he was to be sadly disillusioned.

Slowly but steadily he was forced to drift towards his co-religionists, whose claims counted for nothing before the Hindu community. It could be asked why a leader like Mr. Jinnah, who received his political training under Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Gokhale, was talking of communal differences? The reasons were many. The Hindus' unaccommodating policy was the first. It was this unaccommodating attitude and intransigence that turned Indian Jinnah into Muslim Jinnah. Since the time Mr. Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Congress, he was, by his religious dogmas, *mantras* and *tantras*, making the Indian National Congress a political party of the Hindus. The policy was so subtly and so skilfully pursued that not even Muslim leaders inside the Congress

could see the metamorphosis that was slowly coming over. It took more than a decade for them to realise this palpable truth.

As a matter of fact since the Hindu-Muslim and the Extremist-Moderate unity achieved in the joint session of 1916—so well known as the Lucknow Pact—till the end of Khilafat Movement, Mr. Jinnah did not give preference to the Muslim cause, when it came to be a question of the country and community. Even though the Khilafat Movement brought about a transitional period when Hindus and Muslims worked shoulder to shoulder, the only result that emanated out of it was communal riots, which broke the peace throughout the length and breadth of the country.

From 1924 to 1926 Mr. Jinnah was scrutinising and reviewing the situation in the country and was completely unattached to any organisation. Then, slowly, his interest turned towards the Muslims. The Congress were then harping on the joint electorates. Fearing that this insistance on joint electorates be a dodge to keep the Muslims under the permanent domination of the Hindus, the Muslim League adhered itself to separate electorates. In 1926, Mr. Jinnah publicly pronounced in his speech at the League session his change of attitude: "There is no escaping the fact that communalism does exist in this country. By mere sentiment and time it cannot be removed. Nationalism cannot be created by merely having mixed electorates."

It was after this pronouncement that Mr. Jinnah, early in 1927, published his famous Fourteen Points. These demands might not have appealed to all. But Mr. Jinnah did give concreteness to the Muslim demand whereas the Congress demand for Swaraj was and is still vague and jugglery of words. The hair-splitting and vehement criticism levelled against these Points by the Hindu press was speedily driving him towards Muslims.

His Fourteen Points and the hot reception accorded to them are too well known. But the history of the events which brought into existence these famous Points is still unwritten and unknown. It is now imperative to record it here.

During budget discussion in the Central Assembly (1927) Mr. Jinnah expressed his willingness to agree to a compromise on the issue of communal representation on the basis of joint electorates and having obtained the signatures of twenty-eight Muslim members, he sent to Mr. Gandhi a Memorandum of Muslim demands on the basis of the principle of joint electorates. He also expressed his willingness to go on a tour of the whole country along with Pandit Motilal Nehru, Malaviyaji and Gandhiji to impress on the people the importance of the fact and obtain their support for it. Mr. Gandhi at once accepted this proposal. After some hesitation, Motilalji too agreed. But that confirmed communalist, that dreamer of Hindu Raj, Malaviyaji refused to

accept the Memorandum in the form in which it was presented to him. There ended another attempt. Mr. Jinnah was prepared to sacrifice some of his life-long convictions and purchase Hindu-Muslim unity at any cost but the Hindu communalists would not budge an inch. Had the Congress accepted his Fourteen Points then and there, the Hindu-Muslim problem would have been solved once and for all and Indian History written differently. But the Congress chose to abide by Pandit Malaviya's decision.

This was a rude shock for the Ambassador of Unity. The announcement of the all-White Simon Commission put fire into his feelings. He organised the most successful demonstration against it in Bombay and thus brought Hindus and Muslims once again together.

Then came the Round Table Conferences, to which Mr. Jinnah was an invitee. Whitehall succeeded in getting a crowd of Indian leaders and successfully played their trump card of *divide et impera*. Here again the Ambassador of Unity could not but work for *rapprochement*. But once again the same irreconcilable attitude of Hindu leaders torpedoed all his attempts. He went a long way to bring about a union even at the risk of being misunderstood by everyone. This was how the *Manchester Guardian* described him: "Mr. Jinnah's position at the Round Table Conference was unique. The Hindus thought he was a Muslim communalist, the Muslims took him to be pro-Hindu, the Princes deemed him

to be too democratic. The Britishers considered him a rabid extremist—with the result that he was everywhere but nowhere. None wanted him." Mr. Gandhi at first was willing to give a blank cheque to Muslims provided they would subscribe to the Congress programme of complete independence. Mr. Jinnah confronted Mr. Gandhi with half a dozen different definitions of independence which he had given on several occasions. No one in India—not even his *chelas*—knew where Mr. Gandhi drew the line between 'Dominion Status' and 'Independence.' Among themselves they talked a language that was a kind of shorthand to each other. Naturally the Mahatma was checkmated. Even for this blank cheque based on this vague definition of Independence, there was opposition. The discordant note was sounded by a menagerie of Hindu leaders led by Pandit Malaviya. After that Gandhiji himself played his game of setting up Muslims against Muslims.

To say the least, Mr. Jinnah, who was hoping against hope to bring about a union, was disgusted. At a later period, describing his feelings during the Round Table Conference days, he said: "At that time I knew no pride and used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a *rapprochement* that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of the Hindu-Muslim unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meeting of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger, the Hindu

sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude, led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate . . . I felt disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London."

This was in 1930 and Mr. Jinnah stayed away in England for four years. He was even to become a Member of the House of Commons; but then his love for the mother-country did not permit him to adopt any other alien land as his own.

9
COME-BACK

In the year 1934, Mr. Jinnah, after three years of self-imposed exile in England, found that the "Muslims were in the greatest danger," returned to India to take up the leadership of Indian Muslims. This period especially was a tragic one for the Muslims. They were a motley crowd without discipline, decorum or a definite goal. Maulana Muhammad Ali was no more. Having gone to attend the Round Table Conference, he never returned to this slave country; Palestine's graveyard claimed his body. Dr. Ansari was in the Congress. The Muslim League existed only in name. Besides, there were two rival organisations of Muslims, the League and the Muslim Conference. Politically Muslims were nowhere. Every man with some tact became a self-styled leader, exploited the Muslims and got away with his booty. It was at this time that Mr. Jinnah staged a come-back. He had an arduous task before him. Organising the indisciplined mob fell to his lot. Muslims had the Communal Award and non-Muslims were opposed to it. There were riots throughout the country. The Government of India Act, 1935, was in the making. The Congress machinations to entice the Muslims away were ready, and the poor, unsuspecting Muslims believed all that glittered was gold.

Rejuvenating the League was his first concern. So under his magnetic leadership, the League was strengthened, organised and built on a sound basis. He was acclaimed as the chief leader of the Muslims—their Quaid-e-Azam.

Mr. Jinnah's leadership is anything but sentimental and is absolutely free from the weakness for clap-trap. There are leaders who may not quail before the mouth of cannon, but would quake and shudder at the very thought of losing the applause of the public and would be led by the unthinking masses rather than leading them. They are people who would simply play to the gallery and Mr. Jinnah never stooped to the level of that sort of leadership. He would rather have his principles judged by reason than by sentiment. He has nothing to do with the emotional aspect of appeal. He would place his cards before his audience and strengthen them by arguments. He would have his case rest on cold logic. It is admitted by great Congress leaders that Mr. Jinnah's bold speech in the Subjects Committee of the Nagpur Congress in opposition to the Non-co-operation was so forceful, so logically argued out, that even the devoted followers of the Mahatma were swept off their feet. But victory was not his. He failed because he would not appeal to sentiments and emotions. For amid the pin-drop silence, which followed Mr. Jinnah's daring speech, Mr. Gandhi put up Maulana Muhammad Ali, who based his speech on emotion.

That was a victory for the sentimentalists, and Mr. Jinnah did not carry the day.

And in 1934 when he undertook the organisation of Muslims, Mr. Jinnah did not want to base his leadership on mere emotions. Logic and reasoning were the keynote on which he wished to build up the structure. He had never entertained beliefs in *jais* and *zindabads*. Consequently when he was taken in long processions and received by deafening cheers, he was neither elated nor thought too much of himself—he was too seasoned a democrat to view it that way. And even today if he permits them, it is more for the sake of the masses who like them and want them than as a tribute to his person. He has often said: "The right royal welcome you have given me is not for me. I know that this means that you are giving your seal of sanction to the policy of the All-India Muslim League."

Mr. Jinnah took in right earnest the consolidation of Muslims. He toured India and delivered a number of inspiring speeches. His comprehensive survey showed that League was both looking ahead and planning the present. Once again the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity in him asserted itself and he found that only a Congress-League agreement could bring the desired result. Consequently he wrote to the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and expressed a desire to meet him for finding out a way for communal solution.

Mr. Jinnah and Rajen Babu met again and again. The talks started on January 23, 1935 and were continued with a short break up to 1st March. But the talks failed. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a statement on the failure of the unity talks said among other things:

"We had a long and frank discussion on the many complicated issues involved, and we have certainly been able to understand each other's point of view fully. We are both equally anxious to find a way out of the tangle, and if our efforts have failed it has been due to no lack of appreciation of each other's difficulties and we are both equally sad at the outcome."

In the middle of July 1935, the Government of India Act was passed by Parliament and received the Royal Assent. Congress historian, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, writes:

"Only, we feel tempted to quote a short extract from a speech of a member of the House of Commons with which the debates virtually terminated. On June 5, 1935, Major Milner, speaking on the India Bill, compared Mr. Churchill and Sir Samuel Hoare as the villain and hero of a play. The hero (Hoare), said he, had beaten the villain. He will doubtless finally dispose of him today (5th June, 1935) without any loss of blood. 'Then,' declared Major Milner, 'the two protagonists will be found to leave the stage door arm-in-arm. Verily, this is the drama enacted in Parliament not only in 1935 but in 1920 as well. While it is broadly true that there

is an ultra-conservative section in the English Parliament which in popular parlance is known as the diehard party, the fact remains that ultimately the object of all the parties is the same, namely, to evolve a picture which, as the *Manchester Guardian* once urged, looks like Swaraj to India and like British Raj to England. For this purpose the different parties stage a quarrel on the floor of the Houses of Parliament, some appearing inclined to give, others appearing to resist and the former prevailing upon the moderate elements in India to accept whatever is possible of being given under the circumstances, as the latter would not allow them to go even thus far. The party in power plays the part of the hero, and the party in opposition plays the part of the villain. The two stage a quarrel within the walls of Westminster, and once they leave the drama they congratulate each other on the magnificent, realistic turn given to their feigned differences. Between the two, India is befooled."

The beginning of 1936 kept the minds of Muslims anxious by the Shahidgunj dispute. It was a ticklish episode and every day Muslims who went to offer prayers at the Shahidgunj Mosque were arrested. No settlement was in sight. No religious leader came forward to solve this important Muslim problem. Muslim India sunk in despair were deeply agitated. At last a saviour came. Unlike Maulvi leaders of India, a Westernised gentleman, Mr. Jinnah, came to

the rescue! He went to Lahore and prior to that he had laid down that all the movements be suspended as a condition precedent to any attempt by him towards a settlement. He went, he saw and he conquered. Muslim India congratulated him on his boldness in taking up the question at a time when no other leader could venture to take up the responsibility. Mr. Jinnah got another feather in his cap. He was slowly entering the hearts of the masses.

In the middle of February 1936, at Delhi a conference of Muslim leaders was held under the presidency of H. H. the Agha Khan to define Muslim attitude in Indian politics. Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali and many other leaders participated. Mr. Jinnah too was present but he did not take part in the deliberations. H. H. the Agha Khan reviewed the whole history of Indian Muslims, how the responsibility for the Indian Mutiny (1857) was laid at the doors of Muslims, how disgusted with it, Sir Syed concentrated on education instead of on politics and how, except a handful few, all Muslims stood aloof from the Congress. The Muslim League came into being in 1906, and ten years later it gathered such strength as to enter into an agreement with the Congress. In 1916, as for the Lucknow Pact—hats off to Mr. Jinnah—Hindu leaders assured Muslim leaders of their religious and cultural integrity and readily agreed to separate representation through separate electorates. Unfortu-

nately the co-operation did not last long. He pleaded for the weak and the down-trodden. Referring to the question of amalgamating the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League, the Agha Khan said it should be left to the decision of Muslims elected to the provincial legislatures. His statement, *inter alia,* brought out these facts. They knew Provincial Autonomy in the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and Assam would spell ruin for Muslims if worked in a communal spirit, but they hoped that better sense would prevail and all communities would work for the betterment of their Motherland, instead of against each other and in return, they only wanted to have the satisfaction of being a majority community in the Frontier Province, Punjab, Sind and Bengal knowing full well that their majority in the Punjab and Bengal was only nominal, while in the Frontier Province, on account of its geographical position and economic conditions, it was not likely to have much of real Provincial Autonomy. Thus the Muslims were not inproving their communal position in any way, but still they were for this political advance solely from national motives. Their objectives, therefore, in the matter of representation, was to secure such a position as would enable them to have a majority in the legislature of some of the provinces. They succeeded in the case of three provinces, but failed in the case of Bengal.

In the case of Central Legislature they retained

their proportion to a certain extent but with the extinction of the official bloc, from the communal point of view, they were not going to be as strong in the future as in the past. But there again, their motive for political advance was national, not communal.

They failed to secure a clear enunciation of their undoubted rights to adequate representation in the Services in the provinces, but have been feeling that their case was so strong that no Government claiming to be civilised be in a position to refuse their just demands. They were not elated by the successes achieved, nor were they depressed by the failures suffered. Success and failure in life and particularly in political life were inevitable and regardless of them they should go on. India was now entering a new phase of political life. Muslim Indians were ready to take their due share in developing political life in the best interests of the country.

On April 12, 1936, at Bombay, the Muslim League session was held under the presidentship of Sir Wazir Hasan. It was the 24th session and Mr. Jinnah too was present. In the course of his address, the president-elect, Sir Wazir Hasan, appealed for the amalgamation of the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League, and said:

"I appeal to all Muslims, and particularly to the members of the Muslim Conference, to consider seriously the question of amalgamating the two organisations. I make this appeal in full

trust and confidence that the desired fusion of the two bodies will soon be a *fait accompli.*" Referring to the Communal Award, he said: "I feel that I cannot leave the question of the Award without expressing my sense of deep pain at the attitude which the Congress adopted towards it.

"The Congress in 1927 had failed to rise to the occasion when it rejected Mr. Jinnah's offer of joint electorates, subject to certain conditions; and the Congress did the same in the year 1934. The Congress failed to realise the far-reaching consequences of its policy of neutrality in the matter of the Award. To my mind, this policy has rendered more difficult the task of working out a programme of united and concerted action for the attainment of self-government for our country. Political problems cannot be solved by attempts at phrase-making, however brilliant a piece of intellectual gymnastics the phrase may appear to be. It should always be borne in mind that India is a continent. It should further be borne in mind that the Hindus and the Muslims inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities but should be considered two nations in many respects. So that when the British Parliament is withholding the inauguration of full responsible government in this country, it is resisting two great nations of the world and not only two communities. To describe them for political purposes as two communities is really creating an illusion."

Mr. Jinnah moved resolutions criticising the

new Constitution as entirely unworkable and that Provincial Autonomy scheme might be utilised for what it was worth despite the most objectionable features contained therein which rendered real control nugatory and that Federal Scheme was most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India and was totally unacceptable.

Moving the resolution Mr. Jinnah said that in the new Constitution there was only 2 per cent responsibility and 98 per cent 'safeguards' and special responsibilities of the Governor-General and that even this 2 per cent of responsibility was hedged in by the Constitution of the two Houses of the Federal Legislature.

Referring to the efforts made at the Round Table Conference towards an agreement between Hindus and Muslims, Mr. Jinnah asserted that no religious or communal motives actuated them as a minority community to ask for certain safeguards from Hindus before marching with them along the road to freedom, but unfortunately their terms were not acceptable to the majority community.

Mr. Jinnah argued that there was no large common agreement in favour of the coming Constitution and advised Indians to do with it what Germans did with the Treaty of Versailles which was forced upon them. He did not favour armed revolution or non-co-operation but advised for constitutional agitation by all communities. Con-

gress, he said, could not reach her goal without Muslims. A resolution was passed asking the Muslim League to take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections, and for this purpose authorising Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less than 35 members with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards.

At Lahore, after four days' heated debate, Mr. Jinnah presiding, the Muslim League Parliamentary Board adopted its Election Manifesto. At the outset, the Manifesto referred to the Lucknow Pact of the 1916 which it said would go down in history as a landmark in the political evolution of the country, as a signal of the identity of purpose, earnestness and co-operation between the two great sections of the peoples of India in the task of the attainment of responsible Government but the Pact was not the last word on the question of adjustment of political differences between the Hindus and Mussalmans nor was it ever intended or could be considered so in the new circumstances that arose and developed since then.

The national demand for complete responsible Government after the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms became more and more insistent and from 1921 onwards, the Mussalmans stood shoulder to shoulder with their sister communities and did not lag behind in their sacrifice and their patriotic co-operation with the Hindus, but as a minority

they maintained the principle that their position in any future political constitutional structure should be protected and safeguarded. Here it might appear to an amateur politician that such a demand savoured of communalism but in reality, to those who understood the political and constitutional history of the world, it would be evident that it was not only natural but essential for securing stable national Government by ensuring whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities who must be made to feel that they could rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.

Defining the main work in the Legislatures, the Manifesto concluded :

"The main principle on which the representatives in various legislatures were expected to work would be (1) that the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic and full self-government and (2) that in the meantime representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures would utilise the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the Constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life."

A detailed programme was drafted wherein the scheme of work was defined. It must be remembered that it was the first general election of the kind which was contested by the Muslim

League. And it was Mr. Jinnah who now directed the entire affairs.

A Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was formed and prominent and influential leaders from all provinces were invited to serve on the Board.

Soon after the publication of the Manifesto, critics began labelling it as extremely communal. All Congress organs, even four-and six-page sheeters, condemned it in titles in bold print. In an interview, Mr. Jinnah clarified the League's position and discussed the possibilities of Congress-League co-operation not only inside the Legislatures but also outside in the country. Adding there were several questions affecting the vital interests of the country on which both the parties could work shoulder to shoulder, Mr. Jinnah then went on to elucidate the position of the League :

"I can only say that there is nothing communal in the programme and policy of the League, except that we maintain the principle that Mussalmans as a minority should be adequately protected and safeguarded in the Constitution of our country. This is no new principle. It has been the creed of the Muslim League since its inception. There is a section of the Anglo-Indian press that never wishes us well, and conjures up all sorts of imaginary fears and anxieties on behalf of the Mussalmans. I shall have no hesitation in supporting the Con-

they maintained the principle that their position in any future political constitutional structure should be protected and safeguarded. Here it might appear to an amateur politician that such a demand savoured of communalism but in reality, to those who understood the political and constitutional history of the world, it would be evident that it was not only natural but essential for securing stable national Government by ensuring whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities who must be made to feel that they could rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.

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gress Party in the Legislature in any measure which I think is in the interest of India. There is no commitment between me and the Congress Party and I am not going to oppose, nor am I expected to oppose the Congress because the measure is initiated or emanates from the Congress Party, however good it may be. The Constitution and policy of the All-India Muslim League did not prevent us from co-operation with others. On the contrary, it is part and parcel of our basic principle that we are free and ready to co-operate with any group or party from the very inception inside the Legislature, if the basic principles are determined.

As if the Provincial Scheme was relished by the people of India, the British Government and their mouthpiece in India, the Viceroy, contemplated yoking India under an All-India Federation. In May 1936, the Viceroy in a broadcast talk made this out. The Congress opposed the Federal Scheme tooth and nail. There was not one single party in India which would support it. The Government tried the moderates and they also condemned it. As a last resort they placed it before the Princes. Even they said 'no good.' The League, since the beginning, was terribly opposed to it. Mr. Jinnah was vehement in condemning it. He said he would fight it to the last ditch. In a statement he explained:

"The Government of India Act is a result

brought about not with the help of India. It was enacted in the teeth of opposition in India and contrary to the solemn declaration made by His Majesty's Government before the first Round Table Conference, that only those proposals which received the greatest common measure of agreement of the people of India would be placed before the Parliament."

He pleaded for its thorough withdrawal. He said 'it must go—lock, stock and barrel.' Seeing no public opinion in its favour, the Federal Scheme was not kept in abeyance but was given an honourable burial.

Now that the Muslim League had decided to contest elections, Mr. Jinnah with characteristic foresight, considered it necessary that there existed no dissensions amongst Muslims. He went from province to province. At Lucknow he said: It was wrong to say that the present moves of the Muslims were communal. By uniting 80 million of Muslims under one banner and making them patriotic, progressive and nationalistic, the League was making the greatest contribution towards the freedom of the country. He emphasised the object of the League as being that no individual clique or group of Muslims would, in future, be able to drag the community along the wrong path to suit its ends.

In conclusion, he said that a line had to be drawn against those persons who were beyond redemption—the group of job-hunters and self-

seekers, who thought of nothing but their personal aggrandisement at the expense of the community. Such persons should receive no quarter with the League. In this connexion, he reached Calcutta to unite two groups of Muslims—the United Muslim Party led by the Nawab of Dacca and the Krishak Proja Party of which the leader was Mr. Fazlul Haq. These parties were daggers drawn at one another. Mr. Jinnah by his masterly way of persuasion brought about a compromise.

He made a tour into several provinces to familiarise the Muslim League and to impress upon the Muslim public that the League would safeguard their interests in the Legislatures. Wherever he went, he was listened to with rapt attention both by Hindus and Muslims. He proceeded to Nagpur where two rival sections of Muslims were quarrelling among themselves over their fourteen seats in the Assembly.

Then he went again to Calcutta to inaugurate the election campaign. He regretted that the Congress were interfering with the affairs of Muslims by setting up other candidates in opposition to the League candidates. He also referred to the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, in which he had said that 'there were only two parties in India, *viz.*, the Congress and the Government and that others must line up with them' and added:

"There is a third party—the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody."

Since then Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru began a wordy warfare with Mr. Jinnah. The Congress knew the great influence Mr. Jinnah commanded and feared that, if left alone, he would turn the Congress inside out. And Mr. Jinnah for his part refused to be brow-beaten. But when he saw that his activities were being opposed by the Congress and their President, he said:

"The urgent question facing every nationalist in India today is how to create unity out of diversity and not fight each other. I do not wish to take any notice of this flippant criticism because it is no use indulging in controversies amongst ourselves. The thing is that we should try and understand each other."

He regretted that in spite of the fact that the League's policy and programme were not anti-national and the assurance that they were ready and willing to co-operate with any group of a progressive and independent nature, he found much interference from the Hindus. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, 'who was torn between Benares and Moscow,' claimed that he had a large body of Muslim followers. Bhai Parmanand challenged this claim and said: "As regards the question of larger number of Muslims being members of the Congress, I have to say many things. In the first place I doubt this statement very much. In the second place I do not attach much value to such membership because I know many a case in which one man has paid a hundred or two hundred rupees from his pocket and a propor-

tionate number of members is put down on the list."

Maybe he was right or wrong, and Nehru did not dare to contest every seat from the Muslim electorate but confined to one or two seats in Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab. Of about 250 Muslim seats in the Legislative Assemblies in Muslim majority provinces, more than two hundred were captured by members of the All-India Muslim League. Even though the Congress knew that the League's policy was a full-blooded national one, they would not acknowledge the truth. That was why Mr. Jinnah said:

"The Congress have not the monopoly, nor are they the sole custodians, of Indian nationalism. That Muslims were national to the core was very well evident from their attitude in the Central Legislature. But for the services of the Independent Party and the majority of Muslims voting in their favour, the Congress Party could not have carried a single measure. Yet the Independent Party was accused; only because of this mentality that even a large bulk of patriotic nationalistic Hindus chose to remain outside the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah was accused time and again as being a communalist. He retorted, "The League does not believe in assuming a non-communal label and can't pass off as a national organisation by taking in a few adventurers and credulous persons belonging to other communities, who

have no backing of their people." With regard to Mr. Jawaharlal's ranking Mr. Jinnah with Bhai Parmanand, Mr. Jinnah said: "There's a vital difference between Bhai Parmanand and me; he stands for Hindu Raj whereas I stand for a full democratic, responsible Government for all the peoples of India."

10

RAM RAJ

The Congress compromise with Britain and their taking up the reins of the Government is an interesting story. With the passage of the Government of India Act, elections were held in all the eleven Indian provinces and Congress won and formed Ministries in seven of them. Thus 'Provincial Autonomy' began to function. The patriotic Congress, the same Congress which boasted so long of wrecking the Constitution, sat down to work it.

The left-wingers amongst Congressmen, headed by Pandit Nehru, were opposed to Congress accepting office. But they were won over. The fact was Mr. Gandhi and the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of permanent all-India dominance. All their efforts and energies were, therefore, directed towards securing for India a completely democratic form of Government and they realised that the new Constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on the lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee.

Mr. Gandhi invented a face-saving device. "The Congress played their trump card. They refused to accept office. To the consternation of

the Muslims and other minorities, overnight the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do? Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office. Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and their rights jettisoned their trust and, amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's 'statesmanship,' the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance. A kind of gentleman's agreement was arrived at between the Congress Ministries and the Governors. The Congress had a walk-over and so agreed to carry on His Majesty's Government.

"Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress became intoxicated with power. The Working Committee arrogated to itself the position of parallel Central Government to whom the Provincial Governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed, and the Ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally, and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British they now dealt with the Muslims."

But one wonderful thing about the working of the Congress Governments was that the Ministries were not responsible to the electorate or to the four-anna Congress members but to a Fascist Grand Council known as Congress High Command, who flourished the whip and whose deci-

sion in all administrative matters was final.

The Congress High Command was, however, a puppet in Mr. Gandhi's hand. Nest of Gandhiji and his lieutenants was Sevagram, where this 'naked fakir' ruled supreme. Unless Gandhiji dies or quits politics, the Congress have no legal power to question his authority. He is all-in-all in the organisation, which though calls itself a democratic body, in reality dances to the tunes of this puny-looking Mahatma, the dictator, whose wish is law; for in all Congress disputes Gandhiji has the last word. So much so he is the generalissimo, who controls each and every move of the Congress. He commands complete subservience, nay, 'heart obedience' from all and sundry. Even men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad confessed to have followed him blindly. His religious fanaticism is too well known. He is a prehistoric religious *sadhu* who due to some Providential miscalculation, has born three thousand years late! He himself has written: "It will be seen that for me there are no politics but religion. They subserve religion. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely I do not live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind. Every fibre of my being is Hindu. My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

The Congress High Command consisted of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim divine, just in name to show that Congress was representative of all sections.

Sardar Patel was the party boss *par excellence.* A terrible Hindu communalist, ruthless in dealings, understood the only language of mailed fist. Somebody has said of him that his only culture is agriculture. He was practically the dictator-general who ruled the roost, made Premiers at will and sacked them at the slightest provocation.

Pandit Jawaharlal was the second in command. Confessedly "he was a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere," who detested religion and wrote in his *Autobiography*: "The spectacle of what is called religion, or at any rate organised religion, in India and elsewhere, has filled me with horror and I have frequently condemned it and wished to make a clean sweep of it."

So much so the Ministries blessed by such a High Command began an autocratic rule riding roughshod over Muslim interests. They wouldn't listen to Muslim protests. Justice to Muslims never seemed to worry the Congress Ministerial clique.

Haughty and strong-headed Congress, puffed up with power on their success in elections, went their royal way turning a deaf ear to the warnings of the Muslim leaders. In all those provinces where Muslims were in a minority the Congress formed the Ministries without seeking the co-operation of the Muslim League. However the Muslim Leaguers formed the opposition. In spite of the fact that Muslim Leaguers formed

the opposition, the Congress, just to maintain a national colour, manipulated and by appealing to their economic conscience very shrewdly, bought over a few Muslim Ministers, who tempted by the loaves and fishes of office, agreed to sign the Congress pledge and serve on the Ministries. To the Congress House ran these showboys to sell their conscience on the dotted line. In this deep game of bluff and bribery, the Maulana Sahib played his part very well and seduced several Muslims into the Congress fold. Indeed these Muslim Ministers could not claim to represent any section of Muslims at all.

The Congress having met with failure in winning the co-operation of the League in the Legislatures, tried a novel method of approaching the masses by what was known as Mass Contact Movement—over and above the head of their leaders. Mr. Jinnah could not brook it. He counteracted the Congress propaganda saying that it was in reality the Muslim Massacre Contact and enlightened the Muslim public on the necessity of keeping aloof. The Muslim Mass Contact was bound to fail because to arrive at a decision it was essential to meet and talk things over with the people who really counted.

The Congress did not keep quiet with condemning Mr. Jinnah and the League. But they did no work to show that they were really not antagonistic towards Muslims. In no Congress-governed province, Muslims with good backing

were taken in the Ministries even though Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, in an overwhelming Muslim majority province like the Punjab, offered and took persons, in his cabinet, like Sir Choturam. Once Mr. Jawaharlal went even to the extent of styling himself as a saviour of Muslims to which Maulana Shaukat Ali aptly retorted :

"We do not need a Mussolini in India to wield a sword of Islam to protect Islam. We are quite capable of looking after ourselves."

Not content with conducting their Ministries in seven out of eleven provinces the Congress tried to overthrow Muslim Ministries in the Punjab and the Bengal, and several times no-confidence motions were moved only to meet with failure. However, they successfully overthrew the Ministry in Assam and formed a Government of their own.

The war of statements-to-the-press of course was there in which the Congress showed extra skill. Mr. Jawaharlal showed all his ability of a Harrow student. Not a day passed without his issuing a tirade on something or other with which the League was concerned. Mr. Jinnah was dubbed a fanatic, the League was branded as communal, and the Communal Award was condemned as "a negation of democracy and incompatible with freedom." He spoke as a political purist. He said no religious group should poke its nose in politics. The League being a Muslim organisation should stand aloof

from politics. He also criticised Mr. Jinnah for associating the name of God and religion with election fights as 'politics of the dark ages.' It was all very well said, but was it possible in India to separate religion from politics? Mr. Gandhi commanded a following more as a religious teacher than as a political leader. Pandit Jawaharlal forgot that Congress flourished because it exploited the name of religion. In Congress election bills, the pictures of Hanuman were printed. Congress meetings began with the singing of *Bande Mataram* song, composed in full hatred for Muslims and while receiving big leaders, 'Arathi' and other Hindu ceremonials were performed. Yet Mr. Jawaharlal thought it wise to accuse the League of religion-phobia without noting that Congress, whose President he was, was not immune from 'the politics of the dark ages.'

Once the Congress got maddened with power, they forgot all about their goal of Swaraj but kept themselves engaged in carrying on a malicious propaganda against the League. Pandit Jawaharlal enjoyed to unnecessarily protract a controversy without any purpose. Whenever the Congress leaders condemned the Communal Award, Mr. Jinnah used to say that if any changes should be made in the Communal Award, it should be preceded by a settlement between Hindus and Muslims, at least among the leaders of both the communities. His was the same position in the year 1935 when Babu Rajendra Prasad, the

then Congress President, assured Mr. Jinnah that he would make the Congress agree to the formula evolved by himself and Mr. Jinnah. He might have even succeeded in convincing some Congressmen, but an influential section of the Congress was deadly opposed to it. Besides, an agreement was useless without the consent of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Aney, Mr. Jayakar and others who were holding sway over the Hindus in 1935. Mr. Jinnah was justified in insisting upon these leaders agreeing to the formula before a unanimous scheme was prepared that could replace the Communal Award. If it was a mere Congress-League Pact, their assent was unnecessary, but it was the Hindu-Muslim problem. The leaders of Hindu Mahasabha would not agree. Besides, as Mr. Jinnah put it, "it is very difficult to say who are the Congress leaders and who are Mahasabha leaders. The line of demarcation between the two with regard to a large number of them is very thin." That was why any Muslim settlement with the Congress, without the concurrence of the Hindu Mahasabha, was not even worth the paper on which it was written. In the middle of October 1937, the Lucknow session of the All-India Muslim League was held with Mr. Jinnah as President. Seldom in the recent years had a session of the League attracted such a large number of delegates from all parts of India and Burma. Every province was well represented. This session was unique in

this respect that almost all the Muslim parties joined the League with the result that the League emerged as the only strong and most influential and the most representative organisation of the Muslim community. Sir Sikander, Mr. Fazlul Haq and their followers descended into the League *pandal* like paratroops to strengthen the hands of Mr. Jinnah. Important decisions were taken at this session with regard to the creed of the League from responsible Government within the Empire to complete Independence. It was decided to launch a membership drive and for this purpose the League decided to have four-anna membership. The question of defending Urdu was also decided. Mr. Fazlul Haq announced that he and his party would always be under the banner of the League without any reservation.

Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his Presidential Address, referred to the creed of the League, Government's responsibility in safeguarding minority interests, the evil effects of Mass Contact, the danger of Constituent Assembly and the Muslims' future. He said:

"The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self-government for India. A great deal of capital is made out as to phrases more for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses. Various phrases are used such as *Purna Swaraj*, self-government, complete independence, responsible government, substance of independ-

ence and Dominion status. There are some who talk of complete independence. But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act, 1935, in your hands. Those, who talk of complete independence the most, mean the least what it means. Was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in consonance with complete independence? Were the assurances that were required before the offices would be accepted and the provincial constitutions could be worked consistent with *Purna Swaraj*, and was the resolution, after the assurances were refused, accepting offices and working the provincial constitution enacted by the British Parliament and forced upon the people of India by the Imperialistic power in keeping with the policy and programme and the declarations of the Congress Party? Does wrecking mean working"? He proceeded:

"Eighty million of Mussalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organised, united force can face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your hands. Take your vital decisions—they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that success is with you."

Mr. Jinnah's speech was condemned by Con-

gressmen on platform and in the press and he was dubbed a communalist and a fanatic. All nationalist papers let off steam. Pandit Nehru's paper, *National Herald,* wrote: 'To Jinnah the crease of his pants is more important than national interests.' Every Congress Tom, Dick and Harry took into his head to condemn the League. Muslims-in-the-pay-of-Congress denounced Mr. Jinnah. They said that the League would be a dwindling force because it was composed of the rich. But facts disproved their brain-wave.

Mr. Nehru, as usual, had some venom to spit. He said that it was the Fascist development in India and that behind the veil of religion and culture, there was an attempt to consolidate the vested interests or a group of privileged people. He denounced it as "arrant nonsense" and "last ditch of political reaction."

But Mr. Jinnah had determined to rejuvenate the League. He said at a Delhi meeting that the League was still a baby and if properly nursed it would surely become as powerful as any other organisation. He claimed that it was through the help and co-operation of Muslims in the past that the Congress had carved out their present position and he felt sure that if Muslims rallied round the League, it would become equally powerful. What Mr. Jinnah said then is true today. The League is certainly as popular and as powerful as the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah was slowly endearing himself to the

masses by his whirlwind tour in all parts of the country. Everywhere he appealed to the Muslims to unite and pointed out how the Congress organisation was Hindu-ridden and how the Muslim community was faced with disruption from within while it had to fight two aggressive forces—the Government and the Congress. He explained how plans were being laid to divide Muslims and that if Hindu Raj were to succeed, Muslims would be reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, as Negroes were reduced in America.

Speaking to the students of Aligarh University he said how the League was slowly gathering strength and how it succeeded in a short time by dislodging from leadership of Muslims, two undesirable elements—the reactionary puppets of the bureaucracy and the *Maulvis* "who were selling the honour of the community cheap." He said he could not tolerate communal tyranny, adding: "I am proud to be a communalist, if it signifies safeguarding of Muslim rights."

At the special Calcutta League session, Mr. Jinnah deplored how there were many communal riots and how the blame was being thrown on the Mussalmans. He said there was a great political awakening and an insatiable desire to come under the banner of the Muslim League. He made it clear: "I welcome a policy of live and let live. I welcome an understanding on matters economic and political; but we cannot surrender, submerge or submit to the dictates or

the ukases of the High Command of the Congress, which is developing into a totalitarian and authoritative caucus functioning under the name of the Working Committee and aspiring to the position of a shadow cabinet of a future Republic." He said even though the Congress leaders were in correspondence with him to end the communal tussle, they were really aiming at annihilating the League. Their resolutions were mere paper resolutions and that was all. He exhorted the Muslims to organise. The Nationalist press was one in condemning his speeches. And within the Congress, anybody who was somebody considered it his patriotic duty to hurl invectives at Mr. Jinnah.

The Congress Ministries were pursuing a policy of ruthless oppression of the minorities. Their contention was that those who were not with them were against them. In Mr. Jinnah's words "an India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim-led coalition Ministries and by offering local political leaders ministerships and other inducements, Congress Ministries came into power also in two more provinces, N.W.F.P. and Assam. In the six Hindu provinces a *kulturkampf* was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Mataram*, the Congress Party song, recognised as the National Anthem, the party flag recognised as the National Flag, and the real National language Urdu supplanted by Hindi. Every-

where aggression commenced and complaints poured in such force into the Muslim League's Central Office, that the Pirpur Committee was appointed to investigate these grievances. Such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, were forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate their grievances."

Usually madness has no methods, but Congress power-madness had enough. Their Ministers rode high horses and followed a ruthless policy definitely detrimental to minority interests. They considered themselves as the sole monarchs of India even with the limited powers which 'provincial autonomy' gave them. Towards Muslims and Muslim Leaguers in particular, their attitude was indescribably heartless. Muslim culture and Muslim liberties were in peril. Muslims were prohibited from calling *Azan*, Gandhiji's photos were hung in schools and Muslim boys were urged to pay respect to them. Mosques, on several occasions, were desecrated with the bodies of pigs and other animals. A well-laid policy of supplanting Urdu was envisaged. Soon Sanskritised Hindi, camouflaged as Hindustani, was pushed to the forefront. Common words like *Madrasah* were replaced by jaw-breaking terms like *Vidya Mandir*. Soon the *Sadr-i-Congress* became *Rashtrapati*, Central Provinces became *Mahakushal*. Protests were of no avail. At a conference of the Congress Premiers,

they even went to the extent of gagging the Muslim press for ventilating legitimate grievances. Country-wide communal riots broke out and the Congress at every finding put the blame on Muslims.

The minorities grew sick of the Congress rule and Muslims were desperate. The fact was the Hindus believed that by accepting office, they became the dictators of India. They claimed that it was their rule. They believed in sharing the booty. They felt that they were entitled to the reward for having worn Khadi cap and shouting *Gandhi-ki-jai.* A reputed Congress politician like Mr. Satyamurti boasted that Congress rule was decidedly Ram Raj. But Muslims and other minorities were disposed to think of it and grew sick of this Ravan Raj. It was a well-planned totalitarian regime manipulated to crush the minorities. They employed the same measures which their British masters used against them. The press was gagged, demonstrators were *lathi*-charged and *satyagrahis* were sent to prison. The cushioned chairs at the Secretariat turned their heads. Non-violence was given a burial and only gun-shots and *lathis* greeted the political opponents.

So much so that everyone was sick of the Congress Ravan Raj and all were praying for its speedy termination. The prayers were heard and soon after the breaking up of war, the Congress went out of office. In double-quick time Mr. Jinnah called for the celebration of a "Deli-

verance Day" and Day of Thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime had at last ceased to function. Mr. Arthur Moore, the former editor of the *Statesman,* commenting upon Mr. Jinnah's tactful action, said: "For swift and sound decision at a critical moment this leadership may be compared in its own Indian sphere with Mr. Churchill's speech when Russia was attacked by Germany. The Congress was completely taken aback. It appeared like a boxer that has been wound." He further proceeded: "Other parties were equally surprised and the impression created was intensified by the response throughout Muslim India. The 'Day' was observed almost in a religious spirit. There were no riots and deep thanksgiving was expressed in responsible accents. It soon became clear to the Governors and the rest of us (myself included), who had handed out bouquets to the Congress Governments, that these Governments had been piling up for themselves amongst the Muslim villagers a dissatisfaction, distrust and resentment which we had not understood . . . .

"In one province they could not produce a Muslim Minister at all and in two provinces they could only find Muslims who did not enjoy the regard of their community. In one province there was public scandal."

Muslims had every reason to be happy at the end of the tyranny of the majority. Mr. Jinnah invited a ton of Hindu public abuse on his head by calling upon his followers to celebrate the event.

Other minorities also joined the observance. Many non-Congress Hindus expressed their sympathy with the Deliverance Day in justice to Muslim cause; so also the Justice Party and the Scheduled Classes, and the Parsis who had suffered. But the Congress would not admit the atrocities they had committed. From Gandhiji right down to the four-anna Congressite there was an attempt to exhibit a clean hand. The Pirpur Committee which toured throughout the country, collected so much overwhelming evidence of oppressions committed on Muslims and other minorities that it left one dumbfounded. Gandhiji became a defender of the Congress and swallowed—as is his wont—all his previous writings. He himself had complained about the Congress becoming "violent" and "corrupt." Once he wrote: "I have no difficulty in endorsing the remark that it was the British bayonet that kept the Congress Ministries in power. My magnetism may have something to do with the victory at the polls. But it proved utterly useless to keep the Ministries in power. The sustaining power was the British bayonets." Pandit Nehru condemned the League allegation, as figment of imagination. Each Congress leader had some say or the other in opposing League's charges. The most unkindest cut of all came from the Maulana Sahib, supposed to be the champion of Muslims of the Congress High Command, who condemned the League charges as a "mountain of lies," little realising that he himself smelt a

rat in the *Vidya Mandir* scheme which smacked of Hinduism and had replied to complaints that Muslims could have *Baitul Uloom* instead of *Vidya Mandir*.

The Congress attitude towards Mr. Jinnah, as described earlier, was unbecoming. They knew Mr. Jinnah more than anybody else. They had studied him as a selfless leader. They had also seen him as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity, at a time when Mr. Gandhi was a mere nobody in Indian politics. They also understood why an Indian Jinnah became a Muslim Jinnah and who were responsible for this metamorphosis. But today the champion of the Congress cause was its determined opponent. Not that he had his personal axe to grind. Not that he was enamoured of leadership.

They knew his statesmanship and admired him. They realised his great organising capabilities and feared him. To outwit this veteran politician of India, the Congress adopted a hundred ways. They first ignored him, thinking that he would come to terms on bended knees. They were mistaken. The knees that never bent before a John Bull would not bend before a *Bania*. He went on organising Muslim India and consolidating its position. They hated him now. They found that if this was not nipped in the bud their machinations would be useless, their day-dream of a Hindu Raj would collapse like a house of cards, and their much boasted Ram Raj would be a ten-day wonder. After

deep calculation they found that opposition would be the best weapon. They employed it with much gusto. The Congress President was the first to condemn Mr. Jinnah. Then the whole organisation followed suit. The Congress-subsidised press took it up vigorously. He was condemned in leaders and leaderettes, statements, articles and even in letters to the press. The cartoonists found a ready topic in Mr. Jinnah to blacken their white card-boards and to hold him in public ridicule. Soon the Congress realized that Mr. Jinnah was too big to fall a victim or be crushed by their mad opposition. Like Brutus he was so well armed in honesty that all criticisms passed by him like an idle wind which he respected not. He was blackmailed and maligned. He was called a religious fanatic; he was dubbed a communalist. Mr. Jinnah paid no regard to these calumnies and criticisms. On the contrary he accepted the 'encomiums' willingly and said: "I am a fanatic, I am a communalist, if they mean safeguarding of Muslim interests." In this game also the Congress found that they were beaten hollow. They ignored him; but found it to their disadvantage. They opposed him; here also they were unsuccessful. As a last resort, all the Congress big wigs met in a conference and took a definite attitude towards Mr. Jinnah. This time the weapon they employed was flattery. Ignore first; if you don't succeed, suppress; and if you fail there too, submit—that seemed to be the clear-cut policy

of the Gandhi-dominated Congress.

Gandhiji set the ball rolling. He began to recount the great qualities of head and heart of Mr. Jinnah in his weekly *Harijan*, which was devoted to a discussion of politico-something-or-other, wherein Gandhiji dilated upon all topics under the sun, from cabbages to kings, from pin to a camel.

All along he was a silent witness to Congress atrocities on Muslims. He was kept informed of the Muslim reactions. He was aware that the Pirpur Committee went on an all-India tour and gathered overwhelming evidence of Congress Raj. As a matter of fact the Pirpur Report was presented to him by a Muslim at his very hut. But he did not lift his little finger in protest. Evidently he was satisfied with the way the Congress ruled and behaved and hence he blessed them with both hands.

Mr. Jinnah felt that the drifting away of one community from the other as a result of Congress dictatorship was detrimental to the interests of the whole country. He desired that somehow the Hindu Muslim relationship must be established. He took the initiative. He sent a message to Gandhiji. And that resulted in the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah on the one hand and the Congress leaders on the other. Gandhiji referred Mr. Jinnah's Lucknow speech as a "declaration of war." The League leader's reply

was "it was purely in self-defence." Gandhiji wrote: "In your speech I miss the old nationalist. When, in 1915, I returned from my self-imposed exile in South Africa, everybody spoke of you as one of the staunchest of nationalists and the hope of both the Hindus and Muslims. Are you still the same Mr. Jinnah? If you say you are, in spite of your speeches, I shall accept your word." Mr. Jinnah replied: "I would not like to say what people spoke of you in 1916 and what they speak and think of you today. Nationalism is not the monopoly of any single individual." Then as Mr. Jinnah felt that by mere correspondence nothing tenable could be accomplished, he wrote to Gandhiji: "As regards the formation of a proposal which would be the basis of unity, do you think this can be done by correspondence?"

The Congress were aware of the growing popularity and growing strength of the Muslim League. So more out of fear than a real desire to end the impasse, the Congress leaders agreed to commence unity talks. Once again the initiative for the unity talks was taken by Mr. Jinnah. But one thing he made clear to Gandhiji: "We have reached a stage when no doubt should be left. You recognise the All-India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of Muslims in India and on the other hand you represent the Congress and the Hindus throughout the country. It is only on that basis we can proceed further and devise machinery of approach." This was a shock for Gandhiji who all

these days wanted to pose as the representative of the Muslims and Hindus alike. He knew that by identifying with the Congress activities, he had lost the last jot of confidence he enjoyed among the Muslims. He also realised that since Mr. Jinnah took the reorientation of the League, it had become powerful and decidedly the chief spokesman of Muslim India.

But he would not accept Mr. Jinnah's suggestion. He played the old game. He wrote to say: "So far as I am concerned, just as on the Hindu-Muslim question I was guided by Dr. Ansari, now that he is no more in our midst, I have accepted Maulana Azad as my guide." This was a deep and sinister move intended to cloud the issues. And it was ridiculous to suggest that Maulana Azad was guide to the Congress on all communal questions. This Maulana Azad, in spite of his very distinguished and scholarly genius, had forfeited the confidence of the Muslims. Being a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board, he preferred not only to be a spectator but an abettor when Congress rode roughshod over Muslim interests. Mr. Jinnah realised this very well and wrote back to Gandhiji referring to past events:

"I find there is no change in your attitude and mentality when you say you will be guided by the Maulana, as Dr. Ansari is no more. If you pursue this line, you will be repeating the same tragedy as you did when you expressed your helplessness

because Dr. Ansari, holding pronounced and diehard views, did not agree and you had to say you were willing, but what could you do? This happened, as you know, before you went to the first Round Table Conference. At the Conference the tragedy was repeated by you. You seemed to be willing to accept provisionally certain terms but you there also expressed you were helpless, as Hindus were unwilling and you, as representing the Congress, would have no objection if the Hindus and Muslims came to an agreement." This was just like bearding the lion in its own den. And Gandhiji wanted to wriggle out of the situation. He said: "You expect me to be able to speak on behalf of the Congress and other Hindus throughout the country. I am afraid I cannot fulfil the test. I cannot represent either the Congress or the Hindus." And the fact then was that Mr. Gandhi was considered by the Hindus as the "avatar" and the Congress organisation was still a plaything in his hands.

After this exchange of letters the unity talks commenced. The dictator of the Congress went to Malabar Hill to checkmate Mr. Jinnah. Alas! the conversation between Hindu Gandhi and Muslim Jinnah led nowhere. They swapped principles, lapsed into high political verbiage, advanced and parried . . . but all to no effect. It was followed by a communal parley between Subhas Babu and Mr. Jinnah. They talked and talked, talked over a cup of tea, talked across the

dinner table and talked at length till past midnight. These negotiations took place *in camera.* What transpired within none outside knew. Even journalists could not peep through the key-holes. After several heart-to-heart talks between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru, nothing beyond a slight lessening of tension was visible. But the blame for failure was thrown, of course, on the Muslim leader. The real causes were that the Congress, though they had by their activities shown that they were Hindus through and through, would not accept it. And, secondly, they refused to accept the Muslim League as the one authoritative organisation of the Muslims. They raked up the question of Congress Muslims, Azad Muslims, Nationalist Muslims, Jamiatul Ulema, Ahrars, etc., etc., to belittle the League's claim. But they purposely refused to accept that the Muslim League alone could deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslims. They wanted to break the solidarity of Muslims. They fanned the Shia-Sunni feelings at Lucknow; they evidently derived pleasure in seeing one Muslim flying at the throat of the other. They sowed seeds of dissensions everywhere. They instigated a set of Congress Muslims; rained money into their hands, and asked them to organise Azad Conferences. Congress aim was to discredit Muslim League and expose Muslim leadership. They were adepts in employing Muslims to play the Muslims out. For this purpose a gang of Muslims was purchased by the Congress and they in

and out of season opposed the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah. Leaving the work to Congress Muslims, Mr. Gandhi retired to his Wardha retreats, where once again he took his work of flattering Mr. Jinnah. He would send congratulatory telegrams on Mr. Jinnah's birthday. In his letters to the League leader he was not certain which prefix he should use. For a long time he was calling him as 'Shri Jinnah.' Then one fine morning India found him addressing as 'Janab Jinnah Sahib' and on a later date as the 'Qaid-e-Azam.' He was afraid whether Mr. Jinnah was wounded because he fumbled about the proper prefix and queried to that effect. Wrote back the Qaid-e-Azam: "I thank you for the anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all? A rose called by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I however notice that the prefix you are using (Jinnah Sahib) is according to the usage taught to you by the late Ajmal Khan. But surprisingly enough during his life-time and long after his death, you addressed me as 'Mr.', then quite recently you addressed me as 'Shri', and in between as 'friend'; but please do not bother about the matter."

There is a misunderstanding and the Congress paper give the widest publicity to it—that the

surname 'Qaid-e-Azam' was given by Mr. Gandhi. Not at all. Gandhiji himself, while first using this prefix, wrote to Mr. Jinnah that Miss Amtus Salam, a Muslim inmate of the Wardha Ashram, informed the Mahatma that in U.P. Muslim League circles Mr. Jinnah was being hailed as the 'Qaid-e-Azam'. Mr. Gandhi was not its originator; neither he made that claim. It was not a tribute paid by any single person but a grand title conferred on him by the hundred million Muslims, whose leader he is. It is too much to think that Gandhiji could have conceived a term like that. It is very doubtful whether he can even pronounce it correctly.

At the time of the commencement of war, September 1939, the position of the League was this. It had welded the Muslims of India into a well-knit, well-disciplined, well-organised body and secured the position of the most authoritative spokesman of the Muslims. And Mr. Jinnah was slowly making his way even beyond his community. The Anglo-Indian found in him not only a champion of Muslims but of all the minorities as well. Soon after the beginning of the war, when the Viceroy called for the leaders of the communities to meet at Delhi, Mr. Jinnah was also invited. While at Delhi he had been receiving messages from leaders and representatives of the minority communities requesting him to press their claims before the Viceroy.

Among those messages there was one from Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, leader of the Scheduled

Classes which ran thus: "I have asked Mr. Sivaraj, M.L.A.. to see you on his way to Madras and to request you to press the claims of the Depressed Classes for special recognition before the Viceroy when you meet him. He writes to me that he met you and you desired to have the same in writing authorising you to act as our spokesman. It is. therefore, to strengthen your hands that I am writing this letter. Mr. Sivaraj will also be writing to you in this behalf. Trusting you will do the needful."

Mr. Sivaraj, M.L.A., writing from Madras, said: "Please as champion of minorities cause safeguard Scheduled Classes' interest in talk with His Excellency the Viceroy." Not only the Scheduled Classes entrusted their case to him but also non-Congress Hindus from South India. Sir K. V. Reddy, wiring from Madras, observed: "Let not non-Congress people be thrown to wolves." Justice Party leaders looked up to him as a saviour. That clearly showed in what high esteem Mr. Jinnah was held even beyond the frontiers of his own community. Gandhiji was not insensible to this growing popularity and he wrote in the *Harijan*: "The Qaid-e-Azam has given me special reason for congratulating him. I had the pleasure of wiring him congratulations on his excellent *Id* day broadcast. And now he commands further congratulations on forming pacts with parties who are opposed to the Congress policies and politics. He is thus lifting the Muslim League out of the communal

rut and giving it a national character. I regard his step as perfectly legitimate. I observe that the Justice Party and Dr. Ambedkar's party have already joined Jinnah Sahib. The papers report too, that Shri Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is to see him presently. Jinnah Sahib himself has informed the public that many non-Congress Hindus have expressed their sympathy with him. I regard this development as thoroughly healthy."

The Congress realised rather too late that they were reduced to a communal organisation of caste Hindus. This was of their own making. Since the time Mr. Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Congress he did enough and more to do this successfully and skilfully. But the credit, in full, must go to the Qaid-e-Azam for turning the Congress inside out. The Congress also noted, very pathetically, that whereas a few years ago they were attracting a number of Muslim young men to their standard in the name of 'Nationalism', now the Muslim youths were leaving them and the current was all the other way. The one and only reason for this was that Congress sentiment was unmistakably pro-Hindu. The Congress was only a camouflage for Hindu Mahasabha ideals. Therefore Mr. Jinnah said: "I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion and it has proved to demonstration that the Congress is a Hindu body. It is the same coin with a stamp on one side of the Mahasabha and on the other that of the Congress

and what one speaks out openly the other practises."

11
OPEN SESAME

One of the main services that Mr. Jinnah rendered to the Muslims, in the teeth of organised opposition, was that he saved the Muslims from the Congress whirlpool, where, if the Muslims had slipped, they would have been lost. He torpedoed and successfully *blitzed* the Congress machinations. So Mr. Gandhi started a new method of propaganda: "Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights." To that Mr. Jinnah replied, "I assure him that Mussalmans of India depend on their own inherent strength. We are determined to fight and fight to the last ditch for rights to which we are entitled in spite of British or Congress. We do not depend upon anybody." He invited Gandhiji to face facts and come into the world of realities and do some service: "More than any one else you happen to be the man today who commands the confidence of Hindu India and are in a position to deliver the goods on their behalf. Is it too much to hope and expect that you might play your legitimate role and abandon your chase after a mirage? Events are moving fast; a campaign of polemics, or your weekly discourse in the *Harijan* on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics or your peculiar doctrines regarding *khaddar, ahimsa* and spinning are not going to win India's freedom. Action

and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march. I believe that you might still rise to your stature in the service of our country and make your proper contribution towards leading India to contentment and happiness."

But Gandhiji never rose to his stature. And the Muslims, tired of Congress hypocrisy, tired of British promises, tired of communal riots, at the Muslim League session in Lahore in March 1940, adopted the famous Lahore resolution, popularly known as 'Pakistan.' The reason was that the trusted Congress proved untrustworthy, turned Hindu when intoxicated with power. The British only talked of independence, but even with a war on, they showed no inclination to part with power. Besides, Muslims had found no security for their religion or culture. Even their elementary civic rights were in jeopardy. That was why they adopted the Lahore resolution, which they hoped would provide them with separate homelands to pursue their own culture and civilisation without any outside hindrance.

The Muslims were united on this point. They adopted the resolution with the happiest eclat. "The Lahore session," Mr. Jinnah proclaimed seeing the bubbling enthusiasm of the audience, "has made me ten years younger." All that the Muslims wanted was free Islam in a free India and Mr. Jinnah amplified it thus :

"Let me tell you as clearly as I can possibly define it that the goal of the All-India Muslim League is this. We want the establishment of completely independent autonomous states in the north-west and eastern zones of India with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency and exchanges, etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an all-India character with one Government at the Centre."

No sooner the Lahore resolution was passed than Congressmen and Hindus and Muslims-in-the-Congress began to condemn the League and Mr. Jinnah. Congress in order to retain the national colour very shrewdly made a Muslim as their President and the gentleman to be roped in thus was no other than Maulana Azad.

Right or wrong, Congress opposition was organised and their offensive well-timed. They asked how could Muslims claim to be a nation ? Gandhiji said that Muslims and Hindus thought alike, dressed alike, and ate alike, Mr. Jinnah had a ready answer: "Mussalmans came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers, and brought with them their own culture and civilization and founded mighty empires and built great civilization. They reformed and remoulded the sub-continent of India. Today the hundred million of Mussalmans in India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and litera-

ture, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions ; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation."

Then came criticism after criticism. Gandhiji called it " vivisection of India " and stigmatised it as a " sin " adding " cut me into two before you cut India." Hindus labelled the Lahore resolution as 'Pakistan.' Mr. Rajagopalachari said that it was reactionary. Jawaharlal dubbed it as a "mad scheme" and feared civil war. Dr. Jayakar said that Pakistan postulated pan-Islamism adding that what the Muslims contemplated was a belt of Muslims from Turkey down to Assam, so that a whisper at Istanbul could be heard at Shillong. Nationalist and Azad Muslims were even out-Congressing Congress in indicting Mr. Jinnah. Once again the most unkindest cut came from the Muslim President of the Hindu Congress, Maulana Azad, who said that Mr. Jinnah wished to cut India into two, "Pak" and "Na-Pak" zones. The Qaid-e-Azam had brought tons of Congress bricks on his head and had to reply to every criticism, every sensible and sane one. He said there was no such thing as vivisection of India. India was already divided and partitioned by nature. Muslim India and Hindu India existed on the physical map of India. The one fact was that

India was being held by the British power and that was the hand that held and gave the impression of a united India. Indian Nation and Central Government did not exist. It was a pure intellectual and mental luxury, in which some of the Hindu leaders were indulging so recklessly. Answering Pandit Nehru's charge that the Lahore resolution was a "mad scheme" he said, it was a sane and well-considered step taken by the entire Muslims as one man. He said there would be neither conflict nor a civil war, unless Congress desired it. The Muslim ideal presupposed Indian freedom and independence.

During the past six years this Pakistan ideology had gained so much currency that the entire Muslim India are behind it. Mr. Jinnah by his clear and lucid explanations has won over erstwhile critics like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who once accepted Pakistan in principle. It has convinced even foreign observers who have written and said that Western Parliamentary Democratic System is quite unsuitable for India; for, that provides a centre, where the Hindus would always be in a majority. Major Yeats Brown has studied the Muslim case and reached this conclusion: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We British would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-government were to declare that we should be ruled by an all-Europe Government (no doubt with safeguards) with

Teutons as the dominant race or slaves if you prefer—because we were a minority."

But the Congress attitude towards Muslim demand remained hostile. They found in it the end of their day-dream of all-India dominance. They wished to silence the Muslims by what they called National Government. They instigated their supporters to raise the cry of Akhand Hindustan—one indivisible India.

The Hindu Mahasabha expressed its uncompromising attitude towards Muslim demand. However much the Congress and the Mahasabha may deny, Muslims feel that they are a separate entity; and in politics it is the feeling that counts. The League gained strength day by day . . . All attempts by the Congress to hoodwink the Muslims failing, as a last measure, a trump card was played by the Muslim President of the Hindu Congress. Maulana Azad wired to Mr. Jinnah thus: "Confidential. Congress Delhi resolution definitely means by National Government a composite cabinet not limited to any single party. But is it the position of the League that she cannot agree to any provincial arrangement not based on the two nations' scheme? If so, please clarify by wire." This was a sinister move on behalf of the Congress to checkmate Mr. Jinnah and in that game Maulana Sahib agreed to be a willing tool. Mr. Jinnah saw into the game and sent back the following reply:

"Your telegram. Cannot reciprocate confi-

dence. I refuse to discuss with you by correspondence or otherwise as you have completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India. Can't you realise you are made a Muslim show-boy Congress President to give it the colour that it is national and deceive foreign countries? You represent neither Hindus nor Muslims. The Congress is a Hindu body. If you have self-respect resign at once. You have done your worst against the League so far. You know you have hopelessly failed. Give it up."

This was a bold and frank reply. Congress found that even their last machination was blown to smithereens.

This created a sensation in India and the so-called Nationalist Press sat hair-splitting every word of the telegram. The message was weighed, analysed and put to many laboratory tests. The Congress and the Muslims-in-the-Congress took the whole of India by storm and fiery statements and inflammatory speeches were the order of the day. But the entire Muslim India, through primary Leagues and public meetings, approved of every word telegraphed by Mr. Jinnah and passed unanimous resolutions expressing full confidence in the Qaid-e-Azam. That was triumph number one for Mr. Jinnah. The Congress was exposed. The Congress Pharaohs found a Moses in Mr. Jinnah!

Seeing every attempt thwarted, the Congress thought of pastures anew. The League was growing, winning over the intelligentsia as well

as the masses and this gave Congress a severe headache. The reason why the League was so much opposed to National Government was this. The Congress based their demand for a National Government on the theory of one-nation, which did not exist. And Muslims feared, and rightly too, that under the Parliamentary system, any Government so formed would be a Hindu Raj; because experience had shown that whatever be the economic or political programme of any party, the Hindu, as a rule, would vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist. Consequently under a National Government the Muslims were afraid of a repetition of a tyranny of the majority, having had a foretaste of it under the Congress regime. That was why Mr. Jinnah refused to walk into the trap set up by the Congress.

So the Congress manipulated and entrusted the work of roping in Mr. Jinnah somehow to a mushroom organisation of self-styled non-party leaders. They shouted their non-party affiliation on the platform but were in secret wedded to the Congress ideal. They were, most of them, Liberals and as Qaid-e-Azam described them, all generals and no privates. In short, they were all leaders without followers. A mountainous six-footer, who smokes tobacco endlessly, is Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, admittedly a political orphan. He was the leader of this happy-go-lucky political farce. He wished to be a go-between between the Congress and the

League and undertook to somehow trap in Mr. Jinnah. He wrote to Mr. Jinnah saying that He should meet Mr. Gandhi for the setting up of a National Government, adding :

" I think you and Gandhiji should meet first, for, if the country is dear to him it is no less dear to you. You may be at present identified with the Muslim League ; it may be a necessity of the situation that you should be leading the Muslim League. I have no kind of prejudice against the League or anyone connected with it and so far as you are concerned, I still prefer to look upon you as I used to in the days gone-by when other people also looked up to you for guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of caste, colour or creed." Prompt came this reply from Mr. Jinnah : " I have always been ready and willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem." But now Gandhiji played the same old game of not agreeing to see Mr. Jinnah as a Hindu leader. Sir Tej and his friends instead of convincing Mr. Gandhi, joined hands with him and allowed to be led by the nose. Consequently the No-Party Conference came to exist as a mouthpiece of the Congress and Mahasabha.

The Congress attitude towards Muslim demand remained unchanged. They turned a deaf ear to it. They had an eye for the whole loaf and would not be content with two slices or three.

Their attitude was very humorously described by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan in an Assembly speech. He said: " The story of our differences is a painful one. It reminds me of a story of the brothers, who had been left a magnificent mansion between themselves. The elder brother who had the characteristic idiosyncrasies of Mr. Gandhi said to the younger, who was somewhat like Mr. Jinnah: " From the floor to the top of the house is mine and from the top of the house to the highest heaven is yours." That was the grab-all policy pursued by the Congress.

Then came a change all over. The Congress attitude towards war also changed. At a Poona meeting, the Congress even decided to throw Mr. Gandhi overboard and give a short shrift to his non-violence. So, as Mr. Jinnah put it, what was *haram* at Wardha became *halal* at Poona. All was done to force the British Government to give the reins of administration into the Congress hands to run the war-time India Government. But their attitude towards Muslim demand remained stiff and unbending. Mr. Rajagopalachari, who moved heaven and earth at the Allahabad All-India Congress Committee meeting, to get a resolution passed granting self-determination to Muslims, had to face a counter-resolution moved by one Mr. Jagat Narain Lal. The Congress by adopting the latter resolution and crushing down Rajaji's closed the door once and for all on Hindu-

Muslim question. Seeing the Cripps offer which had in it some semblance of Pakistan, the Congress adopted a resolution vaguely referring to Muslim demand and still ambiguously clouding it in words. But when they found that in the long run it would thwart their dream of all-India suzerainty, they post-haste devised a means to hit two birds at one shot. Hence their "Quit-India" resolution of August 8, 1942, which was in fact a loaded pistol aimed both at the Government and the Muslims. The Qaid-e-Azam wanted his followers saying: "The latest decision of the Congress Working Committee, resolving to launch a mass movement if the British do not withdraw immediately from India, is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of Government and transfer power to that Government which would establish a Hindu Raj immediately under the ægis of the British bayonet, thereby throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of Congress Raj."

Without heeding to the advice of anyone, the Congress launched the offensive. Secret circulars had been issued to all Congress branches instructing how best to paralyse the British administrative machinery. Gandhiji had declared that this movement would be short and swift. Sardar Patel had envisaged that it would achieve its object in one week. Pandit Nehru had declared

that they would have no truck with British Raj and that they had burnt their boats. Soon violence was let loose in the country. Trains were derailed stations were set fire to, post offices were looted, communications and telegraph wires cut, lives lost—sabotage and arson took India by storm. The Congress leaders including Gandhiji were rounded up and put in prison. Muslims kept aloof, away from Congress-terror Raj, as per the instructions of the Qaid-e-Azam.

Within gaol, Mr. Gandhi adopted another coercive measure to force the Britisher to yield to Congress demands. He went on a fast for 21 days, a fast 'unto capacity'. Soon the Congress press took up Mr. Gandhi's case demanding his unconditional release. Day in and day out health bulletins were issued. On the seventh day of the commencement of the fast, Mr. Gandhi's condition was reported to be serious. Everyone was on the tenter-hooks. The Viceroy cancelled his *shikar* party and dashed to Delhi. Hindu leaders appealed for his release. They thought Mr. Gandhi would die in gaol. Some three Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were actually scared and they resigned in terror of the impending death of Mr. Gandhi. An emergency meeting of big guns was summoned in Delhi to agitate for the release of Gandhiji. Mr. Jinnah too was invited but he sent this reply: "The situation arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast is really a matter for the Hindu leaders to consider and advise him accordingly."

He felt that yielding to the fast would mean a death-knell to Muslim aspirations. The seventh day of fasting was over. Gandhiji managed to pull on. The so-called fast was continued for twenty-one days and its successful termination was hailed as a "miracle." To tell the fact, there was no miracle in the whole episode as it was found later that Mr. Gandhi while bluffing the entire world was in actuality taking *mosammi* juice and glucose on all days. But then mysterious were the ways of the Mahatma! Nobody launched fasts like Gandhiji. In spite of his several "fasts unto death," he is still alive and kicking in flesh and bones.

Till some time after the launching of fast, there was all calm on the Gandhian front. The Congress and Hindu leaders outside gaol were complaining that a change of heart had come over Mr. Gandhi and that it was Mr. Jinnah who was not interested in the release of Congress leaders. So at the Delhi League session Mr. Jinnah clarified his position: "Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of 'Pakistan'. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this

Government may be in this country and you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop *such a letter* if it is sent to me."

Gandhiji wrote. But he did not write such a letter, accepting the Pakistan demand. His aim was just to embroil the Muslim League and the Government. He was again exposed. Because the Congress leaders would not accept the Muslim demands and because they would not call off their August resolution; they rotted in gaol, allowing the country to be ruled by "irresponsible and unrepresentative Indians," who surrounded the Viceroy and carried on His Majesty's Government.

That was the position then and the Congress alone had the key for resolving the deadlock.

To safeguard Muslims from the organised and well-planned traps of the Congress, it required a master mind to analyse and understand every Congress move. It was astuteness of the Qaid-e-Azam who protected the Muslims from the Hindu enticement. For this he paid heavily. The Congress first ignored him; then held negotiations with a view to ending his powers; then they tried to corrupt him with the baits of Congress presidentship and the premiership of the so-called National Government. But they found him to their dismay very incorruptible. As a final step they 'killed' him.

In 1940, Mr. Jinnah was unwell and was staying in Matheran. His political opponents circulat-

ed rumours in Bombay that Mr. Jinnah was dead! The rumour spread like wild fire and was followed by anxious enquiries in newspapers offices, followed again by the newspapers themselves phoning up to various quarters to get at the truth. The rumour was later discovered to be absolutely mischievous and without foundation. That very evening a certain organisation took into its degenerate hand to celebrate the 'death' of Mr. Jinnah by employing and distributing sweets to school children!

On another occasion the rumour caught the Karachi Assembly when permission was sought to move an adjournment motion. The late Mr. Allah Bux had to send trunk call to verify the truth. The rumour was again false. It was all vulgar hoax. The opponents of Mr. Jinnah did not hesitate to hit him below the belt. That is Indian politics and decidedly politics is a dirty game!

Muslim position in India was definitely unenviable. They had to be always on the alert. And at times they had to be ready and willing to wage a two-front battle. They were proverbially between the devil and the deep sea. While the Congress wanted to completely efface their very existence, the Britisher's attitude was not very patronising either. He believes in promises and gives them in abundance without caring to put them into action. Jam tomorrow, jam yesterday, but no jam today—that was his attitude towards Indian aspirations. The Round

Table Conference saw him giving the Muslims the Communal Award. But when the Congress assumed office, he was hand-in-glove with the party in power. The protests of persecuted Muslims fell on deaf ears. Even when the war came and when the Congress went out of office, the Britisher showed no inclination to accept the co-operation of other parties in carrying on the Government on honourable terms. The Viceroy's Executive Council was expanded without consulting the League President or the League Executive and the League was offered two seats out of a number supposed to be in the neighbourhood of eleven, which was confusing and elastic enough. Mr. Jinnah turned it down as the offer was a travesty of giving the League a real share in the authority. A National Defence Council was set up and prominent Muslims were lured to accept the job. But Mr. Jinnah refused to co-operate with it, as mere membership without power was not only humiliating but derogatory. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Saadullah, the three Muslim League Premiers, accepted jobs on the National Defence Council. Mr. Jinnah asked them to resign. Sir Sikander and Sir Saadullah resigned. But Mr. Fazlul Huq said that the Premiers were invited in their official capacity. Mr. Jinnah exposed this by releasing a correspondence that passed between him and the then Bombay Governor wherein it was stated that they were chosen as representatives of Muslims.

It was a major official bungling. While the authorities blinked in confusion, Mr. Jinnah scored a hit. It was a first-rate personal triumph for him. Those who joined the Viceroy's Council and National Defence Council against the League mandate were dealt with, with an iron hand —expelled from the League. By the dynamic personality of Mr. Jinnah, the League had attained such strength that strong discipline was necessary. For joining the Viceroy's Council, Sir Sultan Ahmed was expelled. Begum Shah Nawaz was shown the door for accepting the National Defence Council membership. And lastly even the great Mr. Fazlul Huq, the ex-Premier of Bengal, when he stooped down to hobnob for Ministerial honours in a way detrimental to Muslim interests, was given the sack. Mr. Jinnah is a hard task-master and a strong disciplinarian. In dealing with the erring members he could have acted arbitrarily, for that power has been granted to him by the Madras session, but he gave the defaulting members the right for appeal. Announcing the expulsion of Mr. Fazlul Huq and Nawab of Dacca, Mr. Jinnah said: "I make a Christmas present of Mr. Fazlul Huq to Lord Linlithgow. I make a New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am glad that the Muslim League is rid of them. No man is indispensable to our organisation."

To revert back to the topic, the Government did not pay any heed to grasp the Muslim hand

of co-operation. They merely said that no future constitution, interim or final, would be adopted by the Government without the approval and consent of the League. So far so good. But they had said not a word about the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah in an interview to a London paper clearly stated: "I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian gaols to convince them or demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, our article of faith and that any declaration by the British Government or the Prime Minister which, in any way, will militate against it, Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command."

In the summer of 1942, came Sir Stafford Cripps, with an accept-it-or-reject-it offer, wherein a veiled reference was made about Pakistan. But no party in the country accepted the proposals and the League had its own reasons. Mr. Jinnah said: "The principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Muslims to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction, we do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war, after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material. Mussalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised." The Congress turned

down the Cripps offer saying: "It is a post-dated cheque."

Sir Stafford Cripps came in haste and returned in a hurry. This was the offer the British Government made when the Japanese were almost at the gate of India. After that much has happened. Mr. Gandhi, who advised the Britisher to leave their lands if the Fascist aggressors wanted them to do so, and who shed tears when he heard that damage was done to the Westminster Abbey by German bombing, asked the Britishers to quit India. Then Congressmen were declared rebels and put behind the bars. But no attempt was made to accept the hand of friendship offered by the Muslims—on honourable terms. Muslims were asked to give help as camp-followers for a little *bakshish*, which position the Muslim League refused to accept. Not only that. The British Crown Representative in India invented a new slogan to blow up the Pakistan demand. He said, "for all purposes India was geographically one." There was already the Hindu opposition to Pakistan. Now it was the British spokesman's. But Muslims never worried about all these. Even when Lord Linlithgow went away and a new Viceroy succeeded him, the Government's attitude remained the same. Lord Wavell in his Assembly Address paraphrasing his predecessor's pronouncement prattled: "No man can alter geography." They seemed to forget that God made the country and man made the town. Even in

Europe which was geographically one, there were a number of sovereign states. This was ignored. The fact was the Government was pining away to satisfy the Hindu Congress which demanded full 20 shillings in the pound immediately.

But Muslim India, through their accredited spokesman, had declared that their article of faith, their defence and deliverance was Pakistan. The Congress embarrassed the Government in 1942 and paid for it in gaols.

The Muslims had lost faith in the Congress. If at all, it was asking the Government to concede the Muslim demand it was not because it had faith in the Government but if the Government accepted Pakistan first, the Congress would accept it within twenty-four hours. For experience had shown that in the history of Hindu-Muslim relationships, the Congress accepted the Muslim demand only when the British conceded it.

The demand of the Muslims for separate electorates in 1906 was conceded by the British Government in 1909 and was accepted by the Congress only in 1916 at Lucknow. Similarly the partition of Sind was vehemently opposed by the Congress, but when the British Government carved it out from Bombay and made it a Province in India, the Congress President ran up there to establish a Congress Government. In the case of the Communal Award also, when all the golden opportunities offered during the second Round Table Conference had been missed,

the Congress in 1934, by a resolution passed at Bombay, decided neither to accept nor to reject the Communal Award, thus conceding everything on which much breath and energy had been wasted in the past years. And only when the Cripps offer recognised the Pakistan demand in a veiled way, the Congress hastened to adopt its resolution about the self-determination to Muslims. That is the tragic history of Hindu-Muslim relationship. And in 1943 the Muslim's position was peculiar. He was between Scylla and Charybdis. If he joined the Congress, the next day he would be nowhere. If he ran against the Government, he would be cut, for his position was like that of a melon. Whether the melon fell on the knife or the knife fell on the melon, it was the melon that would be cut. Protecting and shrewdly guiding the Muslims in between the two dangers was Mr. Jinnah, who was nothing if not a first-rate politician. Muslim India with one voice acclaimed him as their Qaid-e-Azam, as he metamorphosed a crowd into a nation, gave them a flag, a platform and a goal. There was no denying the fact that those small organisations which were shouting themselves hoarse in support of the Congress were all allied to the Congress. In due course either they would disappear or be absorbed by the Congress. The Muslim League was the only organisation of the Muslims. In a short span of a few years, Mr. Jinnah had organised the League on such strong lines that its position

was equal—and not less—to the Congress. A settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and that of the freedom of India was possible only on the basis of ' Pakistan ', which according to Muslims was the key for the present deadlock, the panacea for all constitutional ills and which was definitely the " Open Sesame."

12

MAHATMAICS

Politics was at a standstill towards the end of 1943. The Congress leaders were in gaol. The British were engaged with the Nazis in Europe and the Japanese in Asia. Indian political problem had dwindled in importance before them. Disgusted with the sorry state of affairs, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah in his Karachi Presidential Address appealed to the British and the Congress to end the *status quo*. He expressed the conviction that unity between the Congress and the Muslim League was possible on honourable terms. He even fondly hoped that if Congress could come to terms with the League on the basis of 'Pakistan', it would be possible to prevail upon the British authority with joint effort.

But, inside gaol, Gandhiji was wooing the British rather than the Muslim League. He was in correspondence with the Viceroy asking an explanation from the latter on the propriety of keeping Congress leaders in gaol. He wrote to ask: "Does it become an all-powerful Government to be afraid of the consequences of releasing unarmed men and women with a backing of men and women equally unarmed and even pledged to non-violence?" The Viceroy wrote in reply that release could not be contemplated as long as the 'Quit-India' resolution held the

field. Secondly, he refused to believe that Congress followers were all unarmed men. He added that the August disturbances broke out when he was India's Commander-in-Chief, saying "My vital lines of communication to the Burma Frontier were cut by Congress supporters, in the name of the Congress, often using the Congress flag. I cannot, therefore, hold Congress guiltless of what occurred."

The correspondence went on. As a gesture of goodwill, the Government, early in 1944, released Mr. Gandhi unconditionally. As long as he was detained in the Agha Khan's Palace, his yesmen in the newspaper profession were shouting themselves hoarse for his release. They said that it was Gandhiji alone who could extricate the country from out of the dirty mess, and that he alone held the key for the deadlock and that the moment he was released, he would work a miracle. But, even months after release, he did nothing beyond contributing to the confusion. He continued to be the same Mr. Gandhi who launched his offensive against the ruling powers. Instead of feeling ashamed of his 'Quit-India' movement which, under the cloak of truth and non-violence, let loose hell on the face of India, he said he was proud of it and went to the extent of calling it as "the very breath of his life." There was no attempt to either own the responsibility or repent for the outbreak, in sack-cloth and ashes. *Ahimsa* was a handy excuse to further his political ambi-

tions. Non-violence may be an article of faith with him but what about his followers, to whom he had given the privilege to adopt it as a mere 'policy'? Even his own definition of *Ahimsa* was vague and elastic. It gave its votaries power to act as they liked when once their leaders were arrested. Secondly, it permitted the use of sticks and other 'clean weapons'.

A few months after his release he wrote to Lord Wavell addressing him as his 'dear friend', seeking an interview "as the whole country and even many from outside expect me (Gandhiji) to make some decisive contribution to the general good." But his 'dear friend' turned down the request because of the "radical differences in our points of view." However, Lord Wavell was willing to consider "any definite and constructive policy that you may put forth on further reflection."

Not to be outwitted, Gandhiji struck upon a new approach. A number of jurists were commissioned to give their legal opinion on the August resolution and soon the verdict was given that the resolution had "lapsed." This legal opinion was given the widest circulation; but when he found that this too was fruitless, he came out with his own legal explanation of it. He said that the resolution was 'innocuous' and stood as it was, but what had lapsed was his authority behind the resolution. He retired to the health resort at Panchgani and at that time Mr. Jinnah was holidaying in Kashmir.

This was exactly the position in the middle of 1944 when Mr. Rajagopalachari surprised the world by releasing a correspondence that passed between him and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Rajagopalachari claimed that Gandhiji had drastically changed his attitude towards the Muslim demand. Reason for this assertion was that Gandhiji had given his personal support to a six-point formula drafted by Rajaji, which stated:

(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the Constitution for a free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interm government for the transitional period.

(2) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state, separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join the either state.

(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(4) In the event of separation, mutual agree-

ments shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis and

(6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

The surprise lay not so much in Rajaji's springing it as he put on Mr. Jinnah the blame for not according "his powerful help" to this formula. The fact was since Rajaji broke away his connections with the Congress on the issue of Muslim self-determination he was moving heaven and earth for bringing about a Congress-League *rapprochement* on the basis of what he understood by Pakistan demand. He was vain in the thought that his formula was 'Pakistan' resolution, in other words. Added to that he had secured the personal approval of Gandhiji. But Mr. Jinnah understood the limitations contained in the formula and still in recognition of Rajaji's sincere endeavour towards a settlement, he agreed to place it before the Muslim League Working Committee for discussion. But strangely enough, Rajaji twisted the entire events to his advantage and feeling "that it was futile to allow Mr. Jinnah, if he could not himself whole-heartedly back it, to put any proposal before the Muslim League," he released the correspondence saying: "My efforts to secure Mr. Jinnah's powerful help in pushing through

an honourable settlement of the communal question have reached a stage when the public have to be taken into confidence." Soon the distorted facts were brought to light when Mr. Jinnah, in the course of a speech, observed: "My only sin was that I requested Mr. Rajagopalachari to allow me to place his proposals before my Working Committee and that, as Mr. Gandhi was no longer in prison, I requested that he should directly communicate to me whatever proposals he may choose to put forward, assuring him that I would place them before my Working Committee. What was the objection to such a course?" Even though Rajaji's formula, blessed by Gandhiji, did not cover the whole periphery of the Pakistan resolution, and was punctuated with vague, undefined and misleading terms such as "absolute majority", "district plebiscite" etc., Mr. Jinnah offered to discuss it. But his off-hand approval was insisted upon. How could Mr. Jinnah signify his assent to the formula, when it had more than one liability? In the first instance, it was a 'take-it-or-leave-it' offer, not subject to any modification. Secondly, it suffered badly from the drawback that it had not come officially from the Congress or through someone who could speak on its behalf with authority. Thirdly, it was from Mr. Rajagopalachari, who was virtually expelled from the Congress on this issue. Individually he was great, but what was his *locus standi*?

An outcast of the Congress, who was a sort of

a busybody, who had neither the right nor could speak with authority for anyone save himself. And finally to demand from Mr. Jinnah, in the tone of an ultimatum, his approval of the formula, even before he could discuss it with his colleagues, was expecting too much. As for Gandhiji's moral support which the formula had the good fortune to secure, the least said the better. Experience had shown that the Mahatma had been notorious for wriggling out of uncomfortable situations by taking shelter under one pet phrase or another. He would excuse himself saying: "I cannot speak except for myself", "the views are mine own", "I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress." As such the 'moral support' was of little value, as simultaneously with his blessing the Rajaji formula, which was supposed to concede the Pakistan demand, Mr. Gandhi, in an interview to the press, did some plain speaking thus—"The Cripps proposals were unacceptable to me for the simple reason that they contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India!"

Yet Rajaji went on saying that though the Muslim demand was met, Muslim leaders were not accepting it. At a Madras meeting Rajaji said: "Once Gandhiji had given Muslims a blank cheque. The Muslims were not prepared to take that blank cheque and fill it with what they required but desired that Gandhiji himself should fill in the cheque. That was what Gandhiji had done now—he had taken the old

blank cheque and filled it with the Pakistan resolution of the Muslim League." The real fact was if Muslims had accepted his formula, it would amount to—as rightly feared by *Indian Affairs*—Muslims having " those sections of India in which they have an absolute majority determined by plebiscite, leaving the adjoining districts free to decide whether they adhere to Hindu or Muslim government. That would leave Pakistan like a moth-eaten, patch-work quilt without even the threads to hold its separate portions together."

Addressing the League Council meeting at Lahore, Mr. Jinnah regretted how Rajaji was making absolutely untrue and misleading statements such as that his formula had conceded all that the Muslim League had ever demanded in its resolution of 1940, and significantly added, "if this is so, why not the Congressmen say, they accept the League resolution of 1940 ? " Rajaji's formula was a parody and negation of Pakistan. All it offered was " a shadow and a husk, maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan and was thus trying to pass off having met the Pakistan scheme and Muslim demands." At the same Council meeting Mr. Jinnah revealed that Gandhiji had written to him expressing a desire to meet him and that he had agreed to receive him in the middle of August. Mr. Jinnah fully trusted that events of the past few years had opened the eyes of Mr. Gandhi and that a genuine desire had come over him with regard to

Pakistan issue. He thought "it was good and conducive to further progress that Mr. Gandhi had, at any rate in his personal capacity, accepted the principle of partition or division of India." Gandhiji's desire to meet the League leader was believed to be so sincere that Mr. Jinnah trusted it fully and even asked his Council: "I ask you to pray and give me your blessings. God-willing, we may reach an honourable settlement." Winding up the proceedings, he expressed the hope: "*Insha Allah*, Pakistan is coming." Just on the eve of their meeting, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the press and leaders of all communities in India "to maintain a complete truce and apply their energies to create an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill"—as their one and sole desire was to secure freedom for all sections of the people of this country. No sooner the stage was set up for Jinnah-Gandhi meeting than interested parties began to rouse Hindu feeling and Hindu sentiment against the unity talks. Mahasabha Vir Savarkar shrieked from Delhi: "An Acharia from Madras cannot give away a portion of the country to a Mulla at Bombay." Mr. Srinivasa Sastri wrote: "Mr. Jinnah would have us watch quietly and pray. No wonder. He has got his prize and needs only to close his fingers on it. At the same time he urged upon Gandhiji to abandon his misguided enterprise." Sir Choturam started the propaganda that "after establishing Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah intended to

conquer the rest of India by joining hands with other Islamic countries." Another group of the so-called Liberal leaders busied themselves condemning the unity talks. Not only that. The bureaucracy in India was so much scared of the outcome of the unity talks that Lord Wavell, one day prior to the date on which these talks were to take place, released the correspondence that was passing on between him and Gandhiji. Then the world came to know that the Mahatma while proclaiming to the world that he was eager for a Congress-League settlement, was in fact carrying on secret correspondence with the Viceroy. But the Viceroy had stated in clear terms: "If the leaders of the Hindus, the Muslims and the important minorities were willing to co-operate in a transitional government, I believe good progress might be made . . . . Let me remind you, too, that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance." Thus the bogey of 'important minorities' was raised with ulterior designs. Then alone people began to realise the truth behind the statement of Mr. Jinnah who had warned on an earlier occasion that the Government were not serious about ending the deadlock but they were bent upon consolidating and stabilising it.

Notwithstanding all the hurdles, the two leaders did meet on September 9. Qaid-e-Azam's residence at Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, became almost a place of pilgrimage for journa-

lists, cameramen and reporters. The public of Bombay would have assembled in their thousands but for the Police Commissioner's order prohibiting their entry into the Malabar Hill area. Never before was world attention focused on the unity talks as now. Everyone in India was discussing it and prayed for their success. Even dramatic changes in war paled into insignificance before the progress of the unity talk which occupied the front page in the papers.

Their meeting began with a handshake, embrace and hugging. Their statements that they would not part until an agreement was reached and that if they failed, it would be due to their bankruptcy of wisdom and statesmanship evoked great hopes. They met almost every day and exchanged correspondence. For three weeks, the big leaders put their big heads together. But all to no avail. The talks failed. Firstly, because Gandhiji—as usual with him—from the commencement of the talks made it difficult that he had approached in his individual capacity and that he represented no one but himself. However, he assured that he was open to conviction. Mr. Jinnah said : " I have placed before him everything and every aspect of the Muslim point of view in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence, and we discussed all the pros and cons generally, and I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandhi . . . . Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not be embittered, and we

trust that this is not the final end of our effort."

The release of correspondence that passed between them was revealing in more respects than one. On the first day itself Gandhiji began talking of an 'ocean of difference' between the two. As days passed on, he took a clearly negative attitude. He said that the Lahore resolution did not mention two nations and proceeded to add: "In the course of our discussions, you have passionately pleaded that India contained two nations, *i.e.*, Hindus and Muslims and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it was true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock." Far from accepting the Pakistan resolution he said: "As I write this letter and imagine the working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India"—this to a resolution, which had become almost the very breath of life to the Muslim nation! As talks went on progressing, more problems cropped up. That Gandhiji who said he would go to any length for the sake of a Hindu-Muslim settlement, remained adamant and even dogged. Pakistan was still a nightmare for him. He did not think that India could be divided. He did not accept the two-nation theory but pleaded,

"Can we not agree to differ on the question of 'two nations' and yet solve the problem?" He did not accept the Muslims' right to self-determination. He did not accept that predominantly Muslim zones in the north-west and north-eastern parts of India could be subject to territorial readjustments. He did not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore resolution with regard to minorities. Mr. Jinnah pointed out all these to Gandhiji and in his last letter deplored the inevitable break-up. He wrote: "If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore resolution. It is not a question of your being unwilling, but in fact it is so. If a break comes, it will be most unfortunate. If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong, and the next thing is that many are waiting, prepared in your circle, to pillory me when the word goes, but I must face all threats and consequences, and I can act only according to my judgment and conscience."

The break came and, as was expected, the Nationalists press put the entire blame for the failure of the talks on Mr. Jinnah. In fact one section had prepared the ground even when Jinnah-Gandhi talks were going on. That was working itself to a pitch by paraphrasing and amplifying the statements of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders made on the eve of the Bombay

talks. The cryptic statement of Rajaji that "Gandhiji might go any far to meet the Muslim demand" and Gandhiji's casual remark to Qaid-e-Azam, when asked to pose for a photograph: "No obliging, willing to surrender" were explained to mean that Congress was serious and sincere. That section even advised Mr. Jinnah to settle with Gandhiji. That was all shrewd attempt to damn Mr. Jinnah at a later date. While amplifying these casual remarks of Gandhiji, the Congress press skipped over a very important pronouncement of Gandhiji just prior to his meeting Mr. Jinnah. Assuring his co-religionists, who had raised a hue and cry, Mr. Gandhi had said: "I will not ignore or compromise a single interest." Facts proved that he did not.

Yet the blame was put on Mr. Jinnah. And the Nationalist press began "pillorying"—with vengeance, vigour and venom. 'Jinnah is living in a paradise of his own; Jinnah's Pakistan is like bubbles blown up by children; Jinnah is lost in the jungle of technicalities: Jinnah is leading the Indian Muslims astray; if they follow him any more, they will be reduced to the position of Jews, a wandering tribe with no homeland to call their own'—these and worse were written by the Nationalist press.

Mr. Jinnah, a few days after the break of the talks, in a press conference, said that neither Rajaji's formula nor Gandhi's proposal which the latter placed before Mr. Jinnah, satisfied the

Muslim demand. He also added that Gandhiji's repeated assertion that he had by his offer satisfied the essence or substance of the Lahore resolution was "disingenuous, tortuous, and crooked." Characterising Rajaji's formula and Gandhiji's proposal as "Siamese Twins", he said that it was impossible to maintain that either of them satisfied any of the essentials embodied in the Lahore resolution. Further he added: "If we accept these terms, which present us with a veritable trap and a slough of death, it means the burial of Pakistan. But I see some ray of hope still, when he (Gandhi) says: 'If Rajaji and I have stultified the Lahore resolution, we should be educated.' I tried to do so, as far as Mr. Gandhi was concerned for three weeks, but his ailment is so long-standing and so chronic that it is beyond the reach of a physician."

Barring Mr. Jinnah, a few enthusiastic Muslim young men wrote to Gandhiji with a view to 'educate' him.

Instead of welcoming such a gesture, Mr. Gandhi dissuaded all attempts by writing back: "The book which Qaid-e-Azam gave me (during the Bombay talks) contains better arguments than your writings. It produced no effect on me. What to do? How will you be able to do what Qaid-e-Azam could not do?"

The entire blame for the failure of the Bombay talks was thrown on the shoulders of Mr. Jinnah. That was but expected as Mr. Jinnah had earlier

stated to Gandhiji: "If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong."

For some time it was standstill in Indian politics as Gandhiji had withdrawn to the background, promising to resume when he heard the "inner voice". But he had not withdrawn altogether. He inspired that political orphan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who played the periodical part of the saviour whenever Congress was in tight corners. Armed with his Non-Party Conference he came to the forefront as an impartial referee and announced the establishment of a Conciliation Committee, which was charged with the task of examining the whole communal question from a constitutional and political point of view and presenting a solution in a couple of months. That such a complex problem was deemed susceptible of solution in so short a time, without the prerequisite of a Hindu-Muslim settlement, suggested that between Gandhiji and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru there was something cooked up already. That was exactly the reason why Mr. Jinnah refused either to recognise or meet the Conciliation Committee, which consisted of Congress yes-men, second fiddles to Gandhiji and pronounced anti-Leaguers. For two months the Committee studied the communal questions. Meanwhile Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, flew to London for consultations with His Majesty's Government. That was probably the first time when a Viceroy proceeded to London

to report personally on conditions in India. Just at that psychological moment, Sapru's Conciliation Committee came to a decision and cabled it to Lord Wavell. The resolution demanded the re-establishment of "popular" Ministries in the provinces as well as a "National" government at the centre. Regarding the formation of a "National" government, two alternatives were offered, namely, either to establish a federation without insisting on the entry of the states or to so amend the existing Constitution that except for the C.-in-C. the entire Executive Council should consist of Indians commanding the confidence of the parties in the Central Legislature. Even "the decision as to when the general elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures should take place should be left to the National government at the centre and the popular governments in the provinces." As a specimen of political trickery, the resolution was a masterpiece as there was not even the barest reference to Muslim claims for Pakistan. In fact they were grossly disregarded. Therefore, characterising the committee as "nothing but handmaids of the Congress who have played and are playing to the tune of Mr. Gandhi," Qaid-e-Azam sounded a note of warning that "Muslim India will not accept any attempt to change the present Constitution in any way which would, directly or indirectly, be on the basis of a united India. The question of Pakistan is the first and fore-

most issue to be decided preliminary to any consideration of the framing of any Constitution. Any attempt to militate against prejudice or torpedo the Pakistan demand, directly or indirectly, if countenanced by the British Government, will be at the sacrifice and betrayal of the hundred million Mussalmans in this land."

Lord Wavell stayed on in London and what he would get was a happy guess. In the meantime, all was not well with the Muslim majority provinces. Sind was notorious for tribal feuds, political intrigues and personal rivalries. Since the time the Hindu Congress began to interfere in Sind affairs, this hotbed of political warfare had not known peace. No Ministry enjoyed stability and rarely any politician escaped corruption. Between the personal feuds of Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and G. M. Syed, the League Ministry tottered and suffered a defeat. Soon the selfish members were expelled and full-fledged League Ministry under Sir Ghulam Husain got into the saddle.

In the Frontier, much against the all-India policy pursued by the Congress, successful manœuvres were employed to defeat the League Ministry and Congress assumed the reins of office.

The Punjab was a divided house within itself and Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, under the patronage and with the support of Unionists, was rocketed to power.

In Bengal Nazimuddin Ministry was defeated

by a narrow majority. What was in actuality a "snap division" was interpreted by the Speaker as an "unmistakable censure" of the Government. Thus Section 93 was forced into that province.

It was at that time—(April 1945)—that Qaid-e-Azam was not keeping good health. He had more than one breakdown owing to nothing else but to overwork and great pressure and anxiety in the discharge of his duties and responsibilities as the President of the All-India Muslim League, which was growing so fast and so vastly. He was strictly advised by his doctors to take complete rest for at least the following three months.

As soon as Mr. Jinnah announced his intention to take rest, the ever-vigilant and super-imaginative Nationalist press concocted a number of false and malicious reasons and gave currency to a number of rumours. To set at rest these unfounded stories, Mr. Jinnah had to say: "As there are rumours of all sorts about my health, let me assure you all that there is nothing organically wrong with me. Nor do I suffer from any complaint, malady or disease of any kind. I am perfectly healthy and strong constitutionally. I am only suffering from overwork and the strain through which I have had to go and the only remedy for it is complete rest."

Notwithstanding such a clear statement, the friends of the Nationalist press with their

retinue of imaginative special correspondents, were giving all sorts of interpretations to what they called "Mr. Jinnah's work-fast". Even his indisposition was referred to as "diplomatic fever." They proceeded to say that there was more behind Mr. Jinnah's holiday for three months than mere health considerations and that the Qaid-e-Azam's "mental balance and peace of mind had been greatly disturbed" by the events in the Muslim majority provinces, thus providing shock after shock to the frail frame of the Muslim leader. What was clear from such criticism was the base mentality of the Nationalist press who had their own standards of reasoning and judgment. If Gandhiji went on a "work-fast" that was "well-deserved rest", and if Mr. Jinnah went on a holiday, that was diplomatic ill-health. If the Nationalists believed that Mr. Jinnah's holidaying was due to happenings in Muslim-majority provinces they were mistaken, they had not understood Mr. Jinnah. If they had only just brushed up their minds, they would have found that going to a health resort was almost an annual programme with the Qaid-e-Azam. In 1940, he was at Matheran for three months. In 1941, soon after the Madras sessions, he spent some weeks on the Nandi Hills. In 1944 he was in Kashmir for three months. Not that the Nationalist journalists did not remember these facts, but, for them, any stick was good enough to beat the League with.

In May 1945, with Lord Wavell in London, Mr. Jinnah holidaying in Matheran and Gandhiji having retreated to Wardha, there was complete lull in the politics of India. There was a great speculation as to what the Viceroy would get from Whitehall. But there was general agreement on this point that Lord Wavell had put some concrete suggestions for the termination of the deadlock. It was at this time that what was called a Desai-Liaquat formula was being widely and wildly discussed by the press and politicians. This was supposed to have been a joint proposal forged by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on behalf of the Congress and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the League. This formula among other things suggested parity between the caste-Hindus and Muslims in an Interim Government to be set up at the Centre. Though Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan disowned the authorship of the formula from the very beginning as "a cock-and-bull story," great publicity was given to it. It was even suggested that Lord Wavell had gone to London to secure Whitehall's support for this formula. While some Congressmen were inclined to welcome the setting up of an Interim Government at the Centre, others considered it as "betrayal of the leaders in prison." However, Lord Wavell's return to India was awaited anxiously. Everyone seemed to ask: "Is anything coming—or nothing?"

While at Matheran, Qaid-e-Azam was not allowed even to rest. Bluff and blackmail were

still the mainstay of a certain section of the Congress press. When it came to a question of vilifying and misrepresenting the views of the Qaid-e-Azam, these papers did not mind how low they stooped. They could create stories, concoct scoops and give them the biggest publicity—just to pull down the Muslim leader in public esteem. One of such dirty tricks on Mr. Jinnah was played at the time when a group of papers published and gave the greatest importance to what they claimed as Jinnah-Amery correspondence in 1944. The tone, the language and above all the servile mentality exhibited in the correspondence were quite foreign to Mr. Jinnah and this should have caused enough doubts about its authenticity. Still they rushed to the press post-haste even without verifying its authority or at least satisfying themselves that it was genuine. The correspondence was given the widest publicity. What was more still was that other papers copied it. The worst came when leading provincial dailies published this correspondence in full and wrote scathing editorials on Mr. Jinnah. The Qaid-e-Azam who was resting in Matheran was disturbed; and he exposed the whole correspondence as a "pure fabrication." Whitehall also readily contradicted it "as complete fabrication of truth." Even Mr. Amery denied the existence of any such correspondence. Mr. Rajagopalachari condemning this sort of scooping said: "Mr. Jinnah's denial must be accepted and the topic should

end with that. If papers are willing to publish stolen letters there are people ready to make money by fabricating such letters, as would like to have. It is disgusting."

Immediately on his return from London in June, Lord Wavell, in a broadcast to the country, announced his Plan to resolve the Indian deadlock. It suggested the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. Amplifying this, Lord Wavell observed in his broadcast: "The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportion of caste-Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief who would retain his position as War Member . . . . With the approval of His Majesty's Government, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of Working Committee of the Congress who are still in detention." With a view to helping him in the formation of completely Indianised Viceroy's Executive Council, Lord Wavell called for a conference at Simla in the last week of June and extended invitations to those holding office as Premiers in the Provincial Governments and for provinces then under Section 93, those who last held the office of Premier; the leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central

Assembly; the Leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League Party in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Central Assembly; Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties; Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj to represent the Scheduled Classes and Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

From a cursory glance of the Plan it was clear that His Majesty's Government had tried to satisfy the two major political parties to some extent. The Congress demand for the release of the Working Committee members had been conceded and the Hindu-Muslim parity at the Centre was, perhaps, intended to satisfy the Muslim League, which, through its spokesman Mr. Jinnah, had been constantly asserting that Muslim India could not join any provisional government as a mere minority but only if it had equal voice with the Hindus. Though it was decidedly an improvement on the Cripps offer, it was, like the curate's egg, good only in parts. While it was definite about parity between the caste-Hindus and Muslims, it was silent if the Muslim League alone should select the Muslim members or whether the Congress's fantastic claim about speaking for the whole of India would be recognised. While the Muslim League agreed "to make its contribution to any just and reasonable interim provisional settlement," the Congress sought clarification after clarification. As usual

with him, Gandhiji now kicked up much dust about the expression 'caste-Hindus' contained in the Viceregal broadcast. He said it offended his ear and "touched the political mind of Hindus in its sensitive spot" and backed out of the conference saying that he could not represent the Congress as he was not even its four-anna member and that Maulana Azad should be invited.

The Simla Conference met for four days and adjourned to meet again in the middle of July. When the discussions came to brass tacks, wide differences were discernible. While at Simla Mr. Jinnah was loaded with telegrams from several parties in the country requesting him to plead on their behalf at the Conference. Robert Albert Jesudasan, President, Indian Christian Association, Madras, sent a telegram to Mr. Jinnah pointing out that the Christian community interests have been ignored in the Wavell Plan and seeking his help to get representation and equity. The Secretary of the South Indian Liberal Federation, Mr. M. Damodaram Naidu, sent a telegram to Mr. Jinnah stating that the non-Brahmins of South India resent the claim of the Congress and of Gandhiji that the Congress represented the whole country. Protesting against ignoring the non-Brahmins' claim for representation, the wire added: "In the absence of any representative of ours in the conference at Simla, we authorise you to put forward our claims. We have every confidence in your wisdom and sense of fairness."

As Simla Conference stood adjourned, a state of criticism was raised over the point of Hindu-Muslim parity. But Mr. Jinnah in a press conference clearly stated: "We have no illusions about this parity, because on the Executive Council as proposed, the Muslim quota will not be more than one-third and in the whole of the Executive Council, Muslims will be in a minority of one-third, whereas the Hindu quota will be in parity with Muslims, there will be Scheduled Castes' representation and Sikh representation and the Congress, on any important matter, would be safely entitled to count on the support of the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs." Not satisfied with this the Congress had already claimed the right to choose a member or members from the Muslim bloc. This was objected to by Mr. Jinnah who said: "While we have every desire to find a solution, this is a point, namely, that the Congress or any other body should be entitled to choose Muslims from the Muslim bloc, one which we cannot accept either on principles or facts as they are before us."

Thus the bogey of "Nationalist Muslims" was raised. This junta of political careerists had always been a hurdle in the way of a settlement. While they were looked down upon by the Muslims, they were neither respected by the Congress. In his *Autobiography*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes about them thus: "There came a time when they (Nationalist

Muslims) had nothing left to call their own, no fundamental principle on which they stood except one, and that had been the very sheet-anchor of their group: joint electorates. But again the policy of the lesser evil presented the fatal choice to them and they emerged from the ordeal minus that sheet-anchor. So today they stand divested of every shred of principle or practice on the basis of which they formed their group, and which they proudly nailed to their mast-head of everything, all except their name. The collapse and elimination of the Nationalist Muslims as a group—as individuals they are of course still important leaders of the Congress—forms a pitiful story. It took many years, and the last chapter has only been written this year (1934)."

Only as a means of counterblast to the League, the Congress were patronising and boosting up the Nationalist Muslims. But if settlement was the aim of the Congress, it should have squared up the deal with the Muslim League. In the Simla Conference recess, Mr. Jinnah even made a generous gesture: "If Mr. Gandhi will accept the basis of Pakistan, we need not trouble about this Conference. There will be another Conference of our own. Side by side then the Congress and the Muslim League could work to achieve freedom and independence for all the peoples of India." But this appeal fell on deaf ears. Far from coming to terms with the League, the Congress wanted to settle with

the Government and thus by-pass the Muslim League. That was why all on a sudden they were head over heels in love with the Wavell Plan for it provided them with the opportunity to return to office, where on the fantastic claim of representing the entire Indian people, they expected to get a majority in the proposed Viceroy's Executive Council. Besides, when the Simla Conference met for the second time, even about the five members of the Muslim bloc which were allotted to the League community-wise, which was the essence of the Wavell Proposals, the League was told that it was not entitled to nominate all the Muslim representatives as there were two claimants—the Congress, which claimed two, and Glancy-Khizr on behalf of the Punjab claimed one. This move on the part of these two went at the very root and the very existence of the Muslim League regarding its position, character and status. And the Conference broke as Lord Wavell insisted upon his having one non-Leaguer, a nominee of Malik Khizar Hyat Khan, representing the Punjab Muslims. Thus as Mr. Jinnah said later : " On a final examination and the analysis of the Wavell Plan, we found that it was a snare. There was the combination consisting of Gandhi's Hindu Congress, who stand for India's Hindu National independence as one India and the latest exponent of geographical unity, Lord Wavell and Glancy-Khizr, who are bent upon creating disruption among the Mussalmans in the Punjab, and we were sought to be

pushed into this arrangement, which, if we had agreed to, as proposed by Lord Wavell, we would have signed our death-warrant."

The Conference failed because neither Lord Wavell nor the Congress would credit Muslim League with the support of an overwhelming majority of Muslims. Therefore it was time that general elections were held and the League and Congress claims were put to test. In fact the League had been asking for elections, times without number. Beyond criticising League's claim to speak for an overwhelming majority of Muslims as preposterous, the Congress could not substantiate the allegations. Judging the League influence on Muslim rank and file by the number of League members in the Central and Provincial Legislatures at that time was not only wrong but also misleading. The fact was that all the legislatures had outlived their utility and members had fought and won elections to these legislatures nearly a decade back when the Muslim League was not as well organised as it was now; secondly, Muslims were not as much disillusioned by the Congress activities. It was felt, naturally, that general elections would give a better and more glorious verdict in favour of the League.

The war in Europe had come to a close and Japan was itself in its death-throes. Mr. Jinnah in a statement observed: "There is no use of talking of interim settlement now. Let us go ahead with measures for a permanent constitu-

tional settlement. Pakistan must be decided if the issue of freedom and independence of India is to be decided." There was much truth and political wisdom behind this settlement. The war was a convenient excuse for the British bureaucrats for the perpetuation of the Indian deadlock and they confessedly put the Indian question in the cold storage for the duration. Now that the war was coming to a close, it was but natural to expect the British Labour Government which had come to power to adopt a policy for a permanent political settlement of India. Muslim India was encouraged when Sir Stafford Cripps emphasised that Pakistan was "a majority issue to be decided before introducing any new constitution."

The Muslim League, while demanding for the holding of fresh elections, was preparing to go to the polls. Mr. Jinnah appealed for money: "give me the silver bullets, and the League will finish the job." Soon it was announced from London that elections would be held "as soon as possible." A hint was also dropped in the King's opening speech in the Parliament that they "will do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion an early realisation of full self-government for India."

Preparations for fighting the elections were going on. The League had to equip itself. Even though the very name of Mr. Jinnah could work miracles among the masses, the League branches

were reorganised on sounder and stronger basis. The League had to close up its ranks and at the same time had to purge itself of careerists, job-seekers, saboteurs and self-centred persons. Every precaution was taken to deal a death-blow to the "mushroom Muslim political bodies, who were doing their best to disrupt the Muslims, to divide, to corrupt, mislead and misguide and bamboozle them." Thus was Muslim India put on its feet to fight a number of rival organisations at the elections.

After the Simla Conference which was, in a sense, a blessing in disguise, even Congress Muslims sat up and thought. Many of them did realise that the League was right, but few could summon up the needed courage of conviction to quit the Congress. Yet, the brave Pathan from the Frontier, Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, "after anxious heart-searching and hard-thinking for days on end" decided to cast off the shackles of Hindu slavery. Neither gold nor guns had played a part in converting this author of *Gold and Guns in the Frontier*. It was righteousness and justness of the Muslim cause which convinced him. And he had not been hesitant to give an honest and frank expression to it. In a letter to Qaid-e-Azam he wrote to say: "I beg to communicate to you what I consider to be the most momentous decision of my life. This is the result of anxious heart-searching and heart-thinking for days on

end. I have decided to join the Muslim League. I believe that the stand taken by you is absolutely correct and that any Muslim who opposes you is betraying the cause of Islam in India."

Welcoming the Khan to the League fold, Qaid-e-Azam wired: "I appreciate your views, frankly expressed in your letter. No room or place for any honest Muslim in the Congress or support to it, at any rate, after the Simla Conference. I hope others will follow your example."

This created a sensation in the Congress. It also opened the eyes of those Muslims who were still left in the Congress or in the Government services. As appealed by Mr. Jinnah others did follow Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council, resigned saying that "he had enough of it"—and joined the Muslim League. Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, followed suit. Scores of others, all prominent Congressmen or Government servants, resigned in favour of the Muslim League. Pakistan ideology was gaining more and more strength and support. Mr. Anwar Nashashibi, one of the members of the Arab Delegation in London, said about Pakistan: "The creation of a great Muslim state of 100,000,000 people in India would change the history of Asia and be the greatest possible blessing to the Muslims of Arab States. Had such a Muslim state been in existence, there

would not have been this iniquitous problem in Palestine, which is dear to all Muslims. I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation and that of my fellow-countrymen for the truly noble stand the Muslim League is taking in this matter."

But Congress could neither brook the sight of League's progress nor tolerate the drift of Congressmen and others towards the Muslim League. Pandit Nehru said: "In this atomic age, the demand for Pakistan was a hoarse and meaningless cry." Impetuous as ever he declared that Congress should set up Congress candidates for all Muslim seats. Immediately somebody should have pulled him up as he in the following week strongly recommended that Congress should boycott the elections. Otherwise how to account for this *volte face*? When it was found that they could not stop the elections, the Congressmen demanded the revocation of Section 93 rule in the provinces, with a view to controlling and influencing the polling booths. It was turned down. So with Congress was left the only weapon of blackmailing the Muslim League.

Thus, after several years, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay. The Committee was in a fighting mood. If it was not, at least some of the prominent Congress leaders were Muslim speakers who argued in favour of conceding self-determination to Muslims were hooted down. Pandit Nehru appeared as a walking gun-powder magazine. He declared

war against the Muslim League. He said he would not go one mile near the Muslim League. Affirming that the Muslim masses were still with the Congress, he invited doubting Thomases to accompany him on a tour of United Provinces, where he would show how the Muslims responded to the call of the Congress. He charged the Muslim speakers as seeing things from the wrong end of the telescope. Sardar Patel was more aggressive. He gave a catalogue of grievances against the League. He said how in order to satisfy the Muslims the Congress went out of their way and how every possible concession, communal electorates, fifty-fifty representation, parity had been shown to the League and how Mr. Jinnah refused to come to terms. But the Sardar conveniently forgot that the Muslim League had never asked for them. All that the Muslim League asked for was Pakistan and its recognition as all-India representative of the Muslims of India. And to that Congress' one-word reply was—no!

At an earlier meeting Pandit Nehru said that he did not know what was meant by Pakistan and added that even Mr. Jinnah had not defined it. He had also pooh-poohed that the League would ever make sacrifices for the country. So at a Quetta meeting, Mr. Jinnah replied: "Mr. Gandhi who professes to be the custodian of truth is in fact an advocate of falsehood. Who is prepared to believe that the people like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru do

not understand Pakistan? I ask them, if they don't understand what Pakistan is, what is it that they then rejected and against what are they carrying on propaganda day and night? . . . We are accused of having made no sacrifices for our goal. I am afraid we cannot contribute that sort of sacrifice to which the Congress seem accustomed, namely, to sit like goats under police *lathi*, then go to gaol to complain of loss of weight and then to manage to get released. I do not believe in that sort of struggle but when the time for suffering comes, I will be the first to receive bullet shots in my chest." On a later occasion, Mr. Jinnah had said: "Once the Muslims were promised their freedom in their homelands they would excel Hindus in sacrifices. Muslims cannot be expected to shed their blood for their own enslavement. As long as I live I shall not allow a single drop of Muslim blood to be shed in a cause which leads to Hindu rule over the Muslims."

The elections were to come shortly and every party was preparing. Mr. Jinnah said: "I want that free and fair elections are allowed and not unhampered by the manœuvres and machinations either on the part of the officials or of the Congress. I have no doubt in my mind that an overwhelming majority of Muslims will be in favour of Pakistan. No doubt, the Congress has got money, a powerful organisation and press, but right is with us; God is with us

and, *Insha Allah,* we will win."

So on two clear issues the League went to the polls, *viz.*, the League was the sole representative of Muslims and secondly Muslims wanted Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah had been saying that the elections would decide the future of India. It was not a question of voting for this candidate or that but it was the question of the future of a hundred million Mussalmans. The elections would give a clear verdict on the issue whether the Muslims of India stood for Pakistan or for Akhand Hindustan. It was therefore a question of life and death with the Muslims of India. "If we are defeated in the elections, then we would be nowhere," he declared. "But I have full faith in you and I see clearly the Mussalmans of India today understand the issues before them. We have neither press nor the financial support the Congress has, but we Muslims are politically more conscious than the Hindus, these handicaps notwithstanding." And that was why he predicted a sweeping victory at the polls for the forces of Pakistan.

In an interview to a foreign correspondent, Mr. Jinnah further clarified some more aspects of Pakistan. He said that geographically Pakistan would embrace all of the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab provinces in North-western India. On the eastern side of India, the other portion of Pakistan composed of Bengal (including the city of Calcutta) and

Assam provinces. Politically, Pakistan would be a democracy. Its major industries and public utility services would be socialised. The component states or provinces of Pakistan would have autonomy. Economically, Pakistan, divided into two separate zones, was just as sound an undertaking as though it would be a country with all its states in one bloc ; that its natural resources and population would be sufficient to make it a great world-power.

This interview was subjected to severe criticism and Sardar Patel declared that "Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's definition can never come into existence." Further he said that Hindus and Muslims were brothers and India was one nation. Mr. Jinnah, commenting upon this statement of Sardar, said "It does not come with any grace from his mouth at any rate ; for, did not Mr. Patel perform the opening ceremony of a swimming bath in Bombay meant exclusively for Hindus, thus excluding Muslim brethren from even sharing the sea water ?" As for Mr. Patel's remark that Congressmen had no chance of settling with the League so long as the League leader did not reform his manners, Mr. Jinnah retorted : "I have nothing to learn from Mr. Patel in the matter of manners and code of courtesy."

Then came the Central Assembly elections. Out of the 30 Muslim seats the League contested, nine candidates were returned unopposed. For other seats, there were Congress nominees,

but under different labels, as Nationalists, Independents, as Shias or as Majlisites. Even Mr. Jinnah had a rival candidate set up in the person of Mr. Huseinbhoy Laljee. Muslim India regretted that it was a matter of shame that there should be opposition to Qaid-e-Azam.

The Central Assembly elections came and went. The magnificent success secured by the League candidates in all the thirty seats proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the All-India Muslim League was the sole representative of Indian Muslims and that Muslims were behind the demand for Pakistan. Simultaneously, it proved that the species of political opportunists who flourished under the name of Nationalist Muslims, in spite of Congress support, in spite of Hindu money and in spite of the Nationalist press boost-up, could not win a single seat. What was worse, they could not meet even an honourable defeat. In almost all cases, they lamentably lost their securities. Furthermore, it also pricked the Congress propaganda bubble that they could speak for Muslims with the same amount of confidence and certainty as they did for the Hindus. With an era of anti-Muslim sentiments and activities, the Hindu Congress had no cheek to see the Muslims in the face, could not show head in Muslim constituencies and could not set up a single Muslim on the Congress ticket. However, they did play their game of double-dealing. The League candidates were opposed by Muslims all the same ; but even

they felt themselves shy to admit themselves as Congressmen ; therefore, they sported under the Congress-invented titles of 'Nationalist' or 'Independent' Muslims. But Muslims could not be bluffed that way. They knew the game too well and recognised the Congress stamp in whatever garb they came. The result was all the League candidates came out with flying colours, with thumping majority.

Here a word about Mr. Jinnah's election. At Bombay, Laljee-Jinnah contest was no contest at all. It was like a mouse pitting itself against a giant. The contest, however, was very keen from Laljee's side. Nationalist papers published his biography and photo in double columns of bold print and portrayed him as the greatest custodian of Shia interests. Yet, he could not poll more than 127 in the city of Bombay, where there were about 2,000 Shia voters. Laljee couldn't save his skin even in Bombay Southern Division Muhammadan constituency, where also he contested in the hope that it would serve as a face-saving device; but there too ignominious defeat awaited him. Laljee forfeited his security at both the places and with it his reputation. The cent per cent success of the Muslim League in the elections was unprecedented in the history of any country. Even mighty dictators like Hitler and Mussolini, who had the gestapo and concentration camps at their disposal to terrorise the people and suppress democratic dissent, failed to achieve such a glorious success

as one that greeted the League.

The League, in commemoration of this unprecedented success, celebrated 'Victory Day' throughout the country in January 1946.

One reasonably expected that after such a rout from the polls, reason would have dawned on the Congressmen; but reason seemed to be as far from them as the North Pole was from the South. They manipulated and invented new excuses to explain away the defeat. But the fact remained that Congress had forfeited the confidence of the Muslim masses. They were beaten hollow but still they were hugging a delusion. This defeat in the Central Assembly elections was Warning Number One.

Warning Number Two came when provincial elections were fought. The Congress worked desperately. They knew what election meant. It would unmask their kept-up show. They carried on a country-wide election campaign. They wanted to purchase as many Muslims as they could, but were thwarted in their nefarious designs. Only in Frontier province they got a narrow majority, but the votes polled for the League candidates were very heavy. In other provinces, it was smooth sailing for the League candidates. Madras, Bombay and Orissa gave cent per cent results. Bengal captured 112 out of 118 seats, while in Central Provinces, League lost only one seat. In the Punjab 75 out of 86 went to the League. Sind returned 27 out of 35, United Provinces 54

out of 66, Bihar 34 out of 40 and Assam 31 out of 34. Thus the elections had shown that Muslim League alone could speak for the Muslims. The enthusiasm of the Muslims was so high—especially on the eve of the provincial elections—that even one who ran could see their support for Pakistan. The Parliamentary Delegation which toured India at this time was so much impressed that many of the members had to revise their opinions. Major Wyatt said: "When all provincial elections are over, it is quite possible that there will be a majority of Muslims in favour of Pakistan and one must not neglect it." Mr. Reginald Sorenson, pro-Congress M.P., admitted that "there is a powerful case for Pakistan. The election results fully indicate that the Indian Muslims—the great majority being Leaguers—favour Pakistan strongly. There are instances in history when a community is persecuted, it would like to settle in areas where it has a majority and live a life of freedom and happiness. My best regards to Muslim India. I have respect for their organisation and their leader." Mr. Hopkin Morris observed: "Pakistan is the only way out in the absence of an agreed solution."

Early in February, in a seven-minute sermon to the Central Assembly, Lord Wavell said: "The intentions of His Majesty's Government have, I think, been made sufficiently clear. They have a determination to establish a new Executive Council formed from the political leaders and

to bring about a constitution-making body or convention as soon as possible. I can only assure you that they have a priority label in Delhi and Whitehall. I ask you for your co-operation and good-will in our task."

13

CABINET MISSION AND AFTER

In the middle of March 1946, realising full well the gravity of the political situation in India, the British Government had decided to send a three-men Mission—a Mission not only consisting of three Ministers of Cabinet rank but also of those "who would act as representatives of the Cabinet in India and carry the authority of the Cabinet." As clearly amplified by the *Times*, "In effect the Cabinet transfers itself to Indian soil in order that in the critical diplomacy upon which the future of Indian people hangs, there may be no room for delays and possible misunderstandings that may arise from communicatings by post or telegram." As an advance information, the Parliamentary Delegation was sent to tell the Indian people that the British were really serious about the transfer of power. This was further confirmed by the statement of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, who said: "This year, in the course of the next few months, we hope to make a stride forward and put India in a new position which will mark a milestone in the history of the freedom of the world." This was a far cry from "we mean to hold our own" and hence was welcome; but what was feared was that the visiting Cabinet Mission, in their over-enthu-

siasm to end the stalemate might be stampeded into okaying a Constitution for one united India as demanded by the Congress, thus making independence a boon for the majority and a mockery for the minority. Expressing Muslim fears, Mr. Jinnah observed that "any piecemeal proposed advance or patch-work at the centre or any attempt to set up a single constitution-making body must inevitably shelve Pakistan" and therefore would be resisted by Muslim India to the last man.

What was feared by the Muslim League appeared as true. Just on the eve of the Cabinet Mission's taking plane to India, Premier Attlee referring to the scope of the minority privileges said: "We cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority." This statement was hailed as "statesmanlike and courageous" by the Nationalist press and was resented by the minorities, who had expected that the British would do equitable justice to their legitimate rights. Beautifully commenting upon Premier Attlee's remark, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah said: "There is no question of veto or holding up the progress or advancement of a majority. The issue is to give a simile—says the spider to fly: 'Walk into my parlour', and if the fly refused, it is said a veto is being exercised and the fly is intransigent!" It was a surprise that even Premier Attlee fell a victim to Congress propaganda.

Anyway the Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord

Pethick-" Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, arrived in Delhi in the last week of March. Also arrayed in Delhi, at the same time, were all the diverse forces opposed to the Muslim demand for Pakistan. With the notorious Nationalist press giving boost-up publicity mostly to anti-Muslim feelings, it appeared that the logical and reasoning voice of the League might be drowned. Pakistan had become the main target of attack and more so the Qaid-e-Azam, who had volunteered to take the Muslims to the promised land.

The question that was, therefore, on every Muslim's lips was: 'Would the Muslim case suffer?' Sir Stafford Cripps, soon after arrival, had said that the Cabinet Mission had come to India with an open mind and that they had no cut and dried plan either on paper or in their minds. There was some comfort in this intelligence and Muslims hoped that their case would not suffer as it had triple assets in its favour—the case was a righteous one; it had powerful support as was evident from the recent elections and, finally, it was in the able hands of a tried and dynamic leader. Mr. Jinnah had stated: "There is no room for us to compromise on the issue of Pakistan" adding, "We are now in the arena of negotiations and we want to come to an amicable settlement peacefully."

Mr. Jinnah's first interview with the Cabinet Mission lasted full three hours, when various

implications of Pakistan demand were fully discussed. Further, in order to impress upon the mind of the Cabinet Mission the strength and force behind the Pakistan demand, Mr. Jinnah had summoned a Muslim League Legislators' Convention—a novel conference—the like of which was never held in the history of India, either Hindu or Muslim. In a specially and spaciously erected pandal, over 450 members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures met for three days and as chosen and accredited representatives of various constituencies all over India, the convention, in most unmistakable terms, reiterated and reaffirmed their faith in the ideal of Pakistan. It was not a mass rally of Muslim League legislators, but it was the Muslim Constituent Assembly, which resolved that any attempt to impose a Constitution on a united India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand would leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence." Mr. Jinnah explained that "so far as we are concerned, there can be no compromise on the fundamentals of Pakistan and its full sovereignty." In proof of their loyalty to the Muslim demand, all the legislators took the following Pakistan pledge: "I do hereby solemnly declare my firm conviction that the safety and security and salvation and destiny of the Muslim nation inhabiting this

sub-continent of India lie only in the achievement of Pakistan which is the one equitable, honourable and just solution of the constitutional problems and which will bring peace, freedom and prosperity to the various nationalities and communities of this great sub-continent. I most solemnly affirm that I shall willingly and unflinchingly carry out all the directions and instructions which may be issued by the All-India Muslim League in pursuance of any movement launched by it for the attainment of the cherished national goal of Pakistan, and, believing as I do in the righteousness and justice of my cause, I pledge myself to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice which may be demanded of me."

Winding up the sessions, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah said that the august and historic convention of the Muslim nation had declared itself for Pakistan. "While we hope for the best, we are prepared for the worst," he added.

What impression this Legislators' Convention made on the Cabinet Delegation was not known; but they ought to have seen and heard how the chosen and elected representatives of the Muslim nation reacted towards proposals for constitutional settlement.

At Delhi the Cabinet Ministers kept themselves busy contacting leader after leader. As all were under an oath of secrecy and as there was no official anouncement, all was shrouded in mystery. But dame rumour was as busy as

ever. Newspaper correspondents were providing daily a series of scoops. But it must be said in fairness to the Cabinet Members—A-1 diplomats as they were—that they so ably and skilfully piloted their conversations with the Indian leaders that each political spokesman felt that he had driven home his point very successfully and that the Mission was convinced. This was obvious from the sense of optimism that prevailed in both the Congress and League circles. But the Ministers kept their decision to themselves. They obviously could not worsen matters. They knew who was who and what was what in the political life of India. And they were decidedly not for sacrificing the minorities in order to satiate the majority. That was at least the impression they gave. They realised fully well that the two major parties that counted in the Indian politics were the Congress and the Muslim League—one on behalf of the Hindus and the other on behalf of the Muslims of this sub-continent. Therefore they concentrated their effort on effecting a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League. With this end in view, the three Cabinet Ministers along with the Viceroy extended invitations to four representatives of the Congress and four representatives of the League to meet in conference with them at Simla. There was divided opinion about the result of the Conference. The pessimists had their own doubts but the optimists hugged high hopes. Thus a dozen men

had to decide India's destiny. As far as the Cabinet Mission was concerned, there was no question about their sincerity. This was borne out amply by a number of pronouncements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government and had been further emphasized by the presence of the Cabinet Ministers in India to expedite the transfer of power.

The Muslim League—for its own part—was ready for a settlement. Its four delegates to the Simla Conference, Mr. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar represented not only the Muslim League but also the vast bulk of 100 million Muslims in this sub-continent. It was ready for a *rapprochement*—on honourable terms. With it the guiding principle was, where there is politics there must be compromise. The very fact that the Muslim League, which has been insisting on the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan as a condition precedent to any discussion towards a constitutional settlement, agreed to participate in the Simla Conference was positive proof of the League's sincerity to end the stalemate. Besides, they believed fully in the words of Wavell who in December 1945, addressing the Associated Chamber of Commerce, had said that the British Government and the British people " honestly and sincerely wish the Indian people to have their political freedom and a government or governments of their own choice."

On the contrary, the Congress were not at all enthusiastic about any settlement other than on their own terms. They certainly did want a transfer of power, but direct from the British to Congress hands. Besides, they were under the impression that minorities could have crumbs in the shape of safeguards and that they were not entitled to anything better. And to make the talks of a settlement more difficult, they had roped in two Muslims, Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan into their delegation. This manœuvre of playing Muslims against Muslims was no new game for the Congress. This Hindu organisation—proved as such by established facts—had been evading a settlement by keeping a Muslim at its head. And thus to represent the Hindu Congress in the Simla Tripartite Conference went these two Muslims, along with Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. In the name of Congress, in the name of nationalism, Hindu point of view was represented by the Pandit and the Sardar, who were the vocal part of the delegation, because Maulana Azad, with all the reputation of knowing English better than a graduate, could not express himself without the aid of an interpreter, while Abdul Ghaffar Khan could not even understand the language politicians spoke. Thus Congress skilfully employed the services of two Congress Muslims to thwart the universal demand of one hundred million Muslim Indians.

As could be expected, the Conference failed

because it was doomed to failure in view of the impossible attitude adopted by the Congress. The Cabinet Mission, however, not to worsen the situation, "emphasized the fact that no blame could be placed on either party for the breakdown as both sides did their utmost to come to a settlement." That was the brief obituary note on the ill-fated Conference which wrecked on the rocks of Simla.

The Conference was a one-week wonder. When Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru met at the Conference chamber alone, and then at the former's residence, hopes ran high and optimists forecast a miracle ; but the miracle did not happen. What came out of the Conference still more pronounced was the almost unbridgable gulf that divided the Congress ideology from the League's.

Muslim League was pledged to the ideal of Pakistan—grouping of provinces on communal lines. It wanted two Federations which would voluntarily surrender a limited number of powers such as control over Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Excise and Customs to the Union Centre, the Federal units exercising all other powers. The Union Centre would have an Executive and a Legislature composed on a parity basis, but would not be empowered to have any economic hold over the two Federations.

Contrary to this, Congress were wedded to one indivisible India. They wanted a strong Union

Centre with control over Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Excise, Finance, Currency and fundamental rights, so as to be able, in an emergency, to meet any situation. The Congress objected to the grouping of provinces on a communal basis. Furthermore, they wanted provinces, irrespective of communal majorities, to be free to join any group they liked. They were vehemently opposed to parity in the matter of representation and also to the formation of two or more sovereign states.

Therefore, in a nutshell, Congress were opposed to Muslim League at every turn. They just opposed everything the League wanted. No wonder the Simla Conference met its doom.

The Nationalist press threw the blame on Mr. Jinnah's "intransigence." That was the way they usually explained and that was the only way they knew of. But the fact was otherwise. For the sake of an honourable settlement the League went too far, even out of its way, to close the unhappy chapter. Ordinarily, the League would not have agreed to a discussion on the constitutional problem before the principle of Pakistan had been accepted as a condition precedent to such a step. In this case it did not want to insist upon it. Secondly, the Congress caused enough provocation and the nomination of two Muslims on the Congress delegation was a direct challenge to the League. Still the League refused to be provoked. And, thirdly, it went its farthest when it agreed to a Union

Centre, stripped of certain controls. But all was of no avail. The Congress refused to budge an inch.

So, as a last resort, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, on May 16, announced the British Plan for India. They examined the Congress scheme as well as the League plan and suggested their own basis for settlement, which "in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of Constitution for all India." This Cabinet proposal fell into two parts, the long-term and the short-term. It suggested that "immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future Constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being." In brief the Plan stated that there should be a Union of India embodying both British India and the States, which should deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; all subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces; the provinces should be free to form Groups, with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common; the Constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any province

could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly interval thereafter. With regard to Constitution-making, the Plan decided to allot to each province a total number of seats proportional, to its population roughly in the ratio of one to a million, to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each province in proportion to their population and to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

So much about the Plan. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy stated in the preamble of the Plan that they examined closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India since they were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule. But they were " unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in the British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign states" ; the excuse was that evidence submitted to them "had shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India." But the 'universal desire' of the Mussalmans as demonstrated by the recent elections was given a cold shoulder. Thus the voice of a nation one hundred million

strong was choked simply because for no fault of their own, the Muslims happened to inhabit the same land where non-Muslims formed the majority. However, the Cabinet trio stated that they were not blind to the "very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element."

Thus they negatived the Muslim demand for Pakistan. At the same time they also rejected the Congress scheme as it would present "considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies." Muslim India was pricked in its sensitive spot and was feeling very bitter. A small spark would have ignited the fire. Any slight indication from its leader would have made Muslims jump into the fray. Realising fully well the sense of frustration, resentment and anger of Muslims, Mr. Jinnah refused to comment upon the State Paper. He put it to a time and it was not before a week that he gave his candid views on the State Paper, but added that he did not wish to anticipate the decision of the All-India Muslim League, whose Council had been summoned for the purpose.

Meanwhile the Congress were providing enough provocation. Completely forgetting the fact that their scheme had also been turned down, they expressed undue jubilation because, according to them, Pakistan ideology was rejected. Mr.

Gandhi was the first to give his Mahatmaic blessing to the State Paper. According to him the scheme contained "the seed to convert this land of sorrow into a land without sorrow and suffering." But the lesser fries were overjoyed. Prof. N. G. Ranga observed: "The last nail has been driven into the coffin of Pakistan. . . . The most important thing for India is the early establishment of a National Government at the Centre." Pandit Nehru's paper *National Herald* could not contain itself. In an exuberance of excessive ecstacy, it wrote to say: "Pakistan, the Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's conception, receives a state burial in the document submitted by the Cabinet Mission. And lest there should be any doubt about its demise or any fear of the possibility of its resurrection, it is emphatically announced that the Cabinet Mission's sentence of death on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan has already obtained the approval of the British Government."

But the League viewed the State Paper from a totally different angle. Mr. Jinnah, armed to his finger-tips with arguments in favour of Pakistan, so ably presented the case that the Cabinet Mission could not escape conviction. While denying the letter of Pakistan, they had conceded the very spirit of it at the Centre. It was a tribute to his masterly exposition of the Muslim demand. While the Congress view-point was pressed home by a number of top-rank leaders, Muslim India preferred to leave Pakistan

in the lonely but very able hands of Mr. Jinnah.

At the Muslim League Council, the parliament of the Muslim nation, Mr. Jinnah pleaded for the acceptance of the State Paper. He said : "I asked you to reject the Cripps offer and then I asked you to turn down the Wavell Plan. Now I ask you to accept the Cabinet Proposal." Proceeding further, Mr. Jinnah said : "Let me tell you that Muslim India will not rest content until we have established full, complete and sovereign Pakistan. And I repeat with all the emphasis that I can command that the arguments and the reasons and the way in which the Mission have mutilated the facts are for no other purpose except to please and appease the Congress. In fact the foundation and the basis of Pakistan are there in their own scheme." Commenting upon the jubilation of Congressmen and the Congress press, he said that they were happy on seeing a sugar-coated pill, and there was so little sugar that within a short time they felt it was a pill minus sugar. Proceeding further he referred to his remarks at a Simla reception wherein he had observed that "we cannot keep quarrelling all the time" and how the obtuse mentality of a section of the press at once jumped to the conclusion that 'Mr. Jinnah had come to his senses', he said: "I am glad I have come to my senses, but I wish they will also come to their senses. Surely, it requires two parties for a quarrel but in this case there are three and

even four parties, leaving smaller minorities. When I say we cannot keep quarrelling all the time, am I not addressing every one of them including ourselves ? ''

To come back to the subject, the League Council accepted the Cabinet Proposal and thus scored a march over the Congress which had the Proposal for days together without arriving at a decision. The League's acceptance came as a boomerang to them and put them off their track. All along the Congress leaders had entertained the hope that the League would reject the Plan and then it would be their opportunity to 'surround' the Viceroy and run His Majesty's Government on Akhand Bharat lines. In fact the first reactions to the Cabinet Proposals betrayed this sentiment.

But politically the League proved more clever. It studied the plan through and through. Instead of throwing it away, it found the basis and foundation of Pakistan in this very scheme. It was not so much the League's acceptance that gave a rude shock to the Congress as the world opinion, which in double-quick time turned in favour of the League. With characteristic realism and political wisdom, Mr. Jinnah played his trumps. It was his magic touch and the world which was standing on tip-toe was won over overnight. The venomous and insidious propaganda, blackmailing the Qaid-e-Azam as enemy of India's freedom, collapsed like a house of cards. The world turned round and took

notice. There was unanimity, at last, in applauding Mr. Jinnah's statesmanship and political wisdom. While *Washington Post* wrote : "The Muslim league leader's stand coming on top of Mr. Gandhi's approval of the Cabinet Plan, does bring Indian independence much closer," the London *Daily Mail* commented : "The decision reflects great credit upon Mr. Jinnah and his followers. In agreeing to work the scheme, which rejects the immediate creation of Pakistan, they have made a valuable concession." The *Madras Mail* had rightly noticed to what heights the League could rise at a given time : "To have so far been able to submerge so important a demand (for Pakistan) to secure common progress of India is an indication of broadminded statesmanship at a difficult time." In the House of Lords, at a later date, Lord Pethick-Lawrence said : "This was a great step and I pay tribute to the courage and statesmanship of Mr. Jinnah that in advance of the Congress, he should have advocated in his Council and carried through that body acceptance of our Proposals, which differed substantially from the view held until then and vigorously expressed by his followers." Thus the myth—of 'intransigent League' and 'impossible Jinnah,' —lay exploded. And with so much of international good-will in favour of the League, the Congress were in a dilemma, whether to accept or reject the Proposals.

To accelerate the political advance further,

Lord Wavell announced his intention about the establishment of 14-men Viceroy's Executive Council. The invitees included five Muslims all drawn from the Muslim League, five caste-Hindus and one Scheduled Caste representative, all drawn from the Congress, one Sikh, one Parsi and one Indian Christian to represent the minorities. Also was added in the announcement by way of an ultimatum that in the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of the Coalition Government on the above lines, it was the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Cabinet Statement of May 16.

This was Lord Wavell's take-it-or-be-damned offer. Though this provided parity between the caste-Hindus and Muslims, there was disparity between the League and the Congress as the Scheduled Caste representative was drawn from the Congress rank. The one relieving feature was that no Nationalist Muslim had been included in the Council. With the ignominious defeat they suffered during the recent elections, their presence would have been outrageous. All the same Congress objected to parity contained in the new scheme and Gandhiji strongly felt about the absence of a Nationalist Muslim and suggested that Congress must forego one of their caste-Hindu seats and find room for a

Nationalist Muslim.

The League had its own objections, which confined to Congress-League disparity ; the modification of the number of the personnel had adversely affected the proportion of Muslims in the Interim Government as a whole and as against the Congress as a single group. Therefore, Qaid-e-Azam informed the Viceroy that in view of the changes which had from time to time been made to satisfy the Congress, it was not possible for the Muslim League to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the Interim Government so long as the Congress did not finally convey their decision to the Viceroy.

But Congress, notorious for throwing bombshell at the eleventh hour, sprang a surprise. They did decide to accept the Cabinet Proposals but rejected the short-term Plan for the Interim Government. In order to torpedo the Plan, the question of the Nationalist Muslims was exhumed from the grave and put as a problem of foremost importance. It came in a handy weapon to wreck the Interim Proposals. The League could not sacrifice its principles, just for the sake of entering the Viceroy's Council. Not that it agreed with the Interim Proposals *in toto* but, notwithstanding a number of defects contained therein, the League decided to join the Interim Government on the clearest understanding that the Viceroy had assured Mr. Jinnah that the Viceroy *would not effect any change in the com-*

munal composition of the proposed Interim Government and that the total strength of 14 would not be altered, and that if one party failed to respond to the Viceroy's invitation to form the Government, he would proceed with such of those who were willing to join the Government and that the Viceroy had given this assurance with the approval of the Cabinet Mission. So it was clear that if Congress refused to enter the Interim Government, the Viceroy would go ahead.

The Congress refused and the ordinary course open to Cabinet Mission and Lord Wavell was to go ahead. But—this is a very big ' but '—they not only did not form the Interim Government with the co-operation of the willing parties but put the interim scheme in the cold storage. What was worse, they set up a temporary Caretaker Government of officials at the Centre thus setting the clock back and going back on their pledged word. The fact was they were dying to win the Congress co-operation. And they dared not imagine an Interim Government wherein Congress did not feature. It was an affront to other parties to whom promises were given in all seriousness. Deploring the attitude adopted by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah maintained that they had gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final Proposals and added, " Statesmen should not eat their words."

Leaving everything at sixes and sevens, the

Cabinet Delegation returned to England and for some time there was a lull in the political atmosphere of India. Yet, the attention of the politicians was fixed on the elections to the Constituent Assembly. The Congress had gone out of their fold—even to Mahasabha ranks—in an effort to array the most vehement critics of Pakistan and two-nation theory. But the League's position *vis-a-vis* the Constituent Assembly was undefined. However, it had nominated its own members in order to avoid other elements infiltrating in with the pompous claim of being the representatives of the Mussalmans. Yet, it was not decided whether to enter the Constituent Assembly at all as there were a number of constitutional interpretations to be clarified. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan observed: "If the Constituent Assembly is established as a sovereign body, as demanded by the Congress, Muslims would have no place in that because they would be one against four. Unless the position is clarified, it would be suicidal for the Muslim League to enter the Constituent Assembly." Even Mr. Jinnah held the view that Congress, in reality, did not accept the State Paper, as their interpretation was a complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the long-term scheme rested and added that Congress were enamoured of the Constituent Assembly only because of their "brute majority."

When there was an India debate in the British Parliament in the third week of July, it was

expected that some light would be thrown on the controversies raised and left by the Cabinet Mission. But it was just a review of the Mission's activities in India—in their own light.

Sandwiched, as it was between the Congress and the British, the League had no other alternative but to face facts and take decisions, however drastic they might be. Deceived by the Congress and let down by the British, there was no alternative but to trust in its own power. Addressing the League Council which met towards the end of July, Mr. Jinnah said: "I feel we have exhausted all reasons. It is no use looking to any other source for help or assistance. There is no tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal is the Muslim Nation." Explaining how of all the three parties that were engaged in the negotiations, the League alone worked with clean hands, Mr. Jinnah said: "We negotiated on high principles. We made concession after concession, not because we were overawed. We did so purely because of our extreme anxiety for an amicable and peaceful settlement, which will lead not only the Muslims and the Hindus but also other communities inhabiting this sub-continent to the achievement of freedom. But the Congress stood there like a mule. It had no other consideration except the one, namely, how to down the Muslim League." Regarding the Mission's part, he said: "The British Government have undoubtedly gone back on their

world. They have played into the hands of the Congress. They have tried to propitiate the goddess of the Congress and postponed the formation of the Interim Government . . . . When representatives of His Majesty's Government go back on their own words within ten days and dishonour themselves and the Government they represent and the nation to whom they belong, what confidence can we have in these people?" Therefore, the only course left open was to withdraw acceptance of the Cabinet Plan and to call for 'direct action.' "What we have done today," Mr. Jinnah said addressing the Council after the two resolutions had been passed, "is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything except by constitutional methods and constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods." Recalling the Delhi negotiations, Qaid-e-Azam said how throughout the fateful talks, the other two parties, the British and the Congress, held a pistol in their hands—the one of authority and arms and the other of mass struggle and non-co-operation. "Today we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it," he added. Mr. Jinnah said that the decision to reject the Proposals and to launch direct action had not been taken in haste, but it was taken with a full sense of responsibility and all deliberation that was humanly possible. He clearly stated

that the decision of the Muslim League to resort to direct action "was not a declaration of war against anybody, but a statement concerning the steps the League proposed to take for its own self-preservation and self-defence." As a first shot of protest against the British, the League called upon all its members to renounce their titles conferred by this "alien Government." The enthusiasm with which the title-holders responded to the clarion-call at the very meeting of the Council was notable. In a queue they went to the mike and renounced their titles.

Commenting upon this, *Blitz* wrote: "The worst enemies of the Muslim League cannot help envying the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Last week's cataclysmic transformation of the League from the reactionary racket of the Muslim Nawabs, Noons, and Knights into a revolutionary mass organisation dedicated, by word if not by deed, to an anti-Imperialist struggle, compels us to express the sneaking national wish that a diplomat and strategist of Jinnah's proven calibre were at the helm of the Indian National Congress. There is no denying the fact that by his latest master-stroke of diplomacy Jinnah has outbid, outwitted and outmanœuvred the British and Congress alike and confounded the common-national indictment that the Muslim League is a parasite of British Imperialism."

When the League's decision was made known, the question that propped itself was: "What

next ?" Muslim India whole-heartedly endorsed every word of the resolutions adopted, but there was studied reticence on the part of the Congress, because they realised that they contributed not a little to drive the Muslim League to resort to such a step. Impartial observers judged the situation properly. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said : "There has not been sufficient realisation of the importance of the first decision of the League to agree to a common centre, however restricted, and to enter into a Constituent Assembly for forming a Constitution for one united India. It, therefore, behoved responsible leaders of the Congress not to have said or done anything to disturb the atmosphere. Instead, some responsible leaders including the Congress President proclaimed that the Congress was committed to nothing except to enter the Constituent Assembly. Attempts have been made to modify and explain away the full import of these utterances, but the mischief has been done." Even *Statesman* agreed that "the provocation came initially from the Cabinet Mission. Soon afterwards—and worse—provocation, reiterated and manifestly deliberate—it came on behalf of the Congress Party from the impetuous Pandit."

But having perpetrated the mischief, the Congress were shouting for setting up the Interim Government. Day after day feelers were released through the press. "Viceroy must go ahead without the League"—"Viceroy must form an Interim Government with the Congress help and

leave five seats vacant for the League to be filled in later." But League's attitude towards such an eventuality was clearly defined. In an interview Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan declared that if Congress should form a Government at the Centre, we will resist it by all means and make the functioning of such a Government impossible." Therefore, at this time the question that confronted at every turn was: What next? Mr. Jinnah had stated it categorically: "I have done my best and the initiative must now come either from the British Government or from the Congress." Dispassionate leaders appealed to the Viceroy to intervene and undo what had been done, and that "Congress, as the dominant party, should stoop to conquer." But foreign observers were strongly against yielding to Congress threats and delivering Muslims tied hand and foot to the Hindu Congress. *Yorkshire Post* sounded a note of warning: "The one thing that must not happen in India, though it will doubtless be urged in some quarters, is that we should hand over our responsibilities to the Congress. That way lies madness and civil war." The Viceroy moved at last—not to undo what had been done but to further complicate it. What was feared had happened. Lord Wavell invited Congress President Nehru to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government. Thus the long expected Anglo-Congress conspiracy to bypass the Muslim League had at last materialised. Pandit Nehru's

letter to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah seeking his co-operation in the formation of a provisional Coalition Government was just a formal affair aimed at exploiting and exposing League's non-acceptance as wilful intransigence on its part. Expecting League's co-operation, under the humiliating circumstances, was expecting the impossible for the simple reason that the League could not be expected to accept a scheme which it turned down on points of principle some two months back. Secondly, a sort of clandestine communication was going on between the Viceroy on the one hand, with the concurrence of the British Government, and the Congress President on the other—over and above the head of the Muslim League. Thirdly, the Viceroy, instead of issuing invitations to the Presidents of the two political parties to assist him in the formation of an Interim Government, entrusted the task to the Congress President alone. Thus the League was eliminated.

Now that the League had been given a short shrift, the Congress were determined to go ahead. There were all sorts of speculations in the air. It was said that the Congress would be given a free hand, that the Interim Government would be formed soon and that the seats allotted to the League might be left vacant. Meanwhile there was marked jubilation in Congress circles. To give just one example, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said, "Within the next few days, India will have a National Government. The

Muslim League may come or not. That would make no difference. The caravan will move on . . . . We must now consider ourselves rulers of this land." That was the Congress mentality.

In the meantime, as per the instructions of the Qaid-e-Azam, 'Direct Action Day' was celebrated throughout India by Muslims observing *hartal*, taking out processions and holding public meetings, where they reiterated their faith in the Pakistan ideal, and reaffirmed their confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. As a mammoth and peaceful observation of the day, there was absolutely no parallel. But its solemnity was marred in Calcutta, where processions coming out from various parts of the city to assemble at one common *maidan* were obstructed, attacked and routed. The result was communal clashes. A brutal tragedy was enacted for which there was hardly any parallel in recent times. Nearly five thousand persons lost their lives; over ten thousand were injured; heavy loss was inflicted on properties. The blame for this outbreak was put on the Muslim League by the Nationalist press. The declaration of "Direct Action Day" as a public holiday in Bengal was suggested as the immediate cause for the outbreak. But the critics forgot that since League withdrew its acceptance of the State Paper, almost every Congress leader was carrying on a vendetta against the Muslim League. There was venom and fire in the Congress papers. And Calcutta being a ticklish place for terrorism, the feeling

resulted in the blood-bath. The fact was Muslims paid the toll heavily. Official estimates put down the proportions to something like 4 to 1. Besides, the first cases of injured to be brought into hospitals were Muslims and 90 per cent of admission on the first day were again Muslims. It was an organised subtle move to massacre the Muslims and shift the blame on the 'Direct Action Day.'

To revert back, the unholy alliance between the British Government and the Congress had become an established fact. And Monday, the 2nd of September, 1946, went down as the blackest page in the history of Indo-British relationships; for, on this day, the British Government's representative in India, the Viceroy—contrary to the solemn pledges given on behalf of the British Government and reiterated time and again that "His Majesty's Government would not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life"—handed over the reins of administration of the country to a handful of Congress-picked Caste-Hindus and their satellites and stooges. On this day the so-called Congress patriots, who once shouted from house-tops that they would not compromise with Imperialism, that they would not accept a subordinate position under a White Sahib and that they would never touch

anything short of complete Independence, not only accepted the jobs of the beasts of burden under a Viceroy who was still responsible to a Parliament six thousand miles away but also took oath of office owing allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor, thereby bowing before the deity of Imperialism, which they said they were out to crush. It was a grand spectacle to see fire-eating revolutionaries like Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, who wanted to smash and end British bureaucracy once for all, bowing and bending before that same Government which they had charged with oppression and tyranny. Mr. Subhas Bose on an earlier occasion had foretold that the right wing of the Congress were prepared to 'lick the feet that kicked them.' Events had proved that he was not wrong. How these top-ranking leaders allowed themselves to be absorbed like this was not difficult to understand; for Congressmen who had been scheming and manipulating for a position from where they could not only exercise power but also dominate and crush the Muslims, found in the Interim Government such an opportunity and therefore with indecent haste pounced upon it. They found in it the chance of a life-time. The refusal of the League to participate in the Interim Government as an impotent camp-follower of the Congress, further strengthened their hands, as they could easily tempt Muslim *quislings* with offers of the Viceroy's Executive Councillorship. Some were purchased that way

against gold and silver. Thus installed at the Viceregal Lodge and under Viceroy's baton, these one-time patriots who demanded the withdrawal of the British troops, ordered for the strengthening of the military tenfold and twentyfold. What was hailed as a National Government was a Hindu Government through and through as there was not a single real representative of Muslim Indians. And what was acclaimed as the advent of freedom was nothing but the further tightening of bonds of slavery with British bayonets to boot. It was for these reasons that Muslim India looked down upon this British-Bania combine with the contempt it deserved and demonstrated their "silent resentment" by hoisting black flags on their houses and business places.

Thus, the Congress which had said that communal settlement must precede Swaraj, the same Congress which said that they did not mind if the British transferred power into the hands of the Muslim League, at the earliest opportunity went hand-in-glove with the British, with the sole aim of bypassing the League. The Congress game lay unmasked.

Soon communal riots broke out in Hindu-majority provinces. The reason was not far to seek. As the Qaid-e-Azam explained, there was a wind in the Hindu head that wherever Congress Raj was established, Hindu Raj was established. The installation of Congressmen at the Centre gave further impetus to that feeling. Like an

epidemic, they spread from place to place, with the result Muslims were in constant danger and their life and property were insecure. The Qaid-e-Azam, dejected with the shabby deal meted out by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission, that he should no more deal with the "underlings," thought to fly to London to meet Mr. Attlee and the British Cabinet Ministers with a view to explain to them how badly Muslim India was treated. It appeared there was no other alternative left for the Muslims. Not satisfied with bypassing the League, the blame for non-co-operation was kept at the doors of the Muslim League. Attempts were made to explain away that the League refused to join the Interim Government. Someone had to call the bluff. Who else could do it more ably than Mr. Jinnah? In a press interview, when asked why he refused to participate in the Interim Government, he said: "It was not I who refused. The Cabinet Mission's original proposal was a coalition of 5 Congress, 5 Muslim and 2 minority representatives. To evercome Congress objections to Hindu-Muslim parity, the Mission then proposed the addition of a third Hindu minority representative. I agreed. The Congress refused. On June 16, the Viceroy produced the final formula of 5 Hindus, 5 Muslim Leaguers and 4 minority men. On the strength of the Viceroy's letter to me of June 20, in which he said that no decision on a major communal issue could be taken

by the Interim Government if the majority of either party opposed it, I again agreed. Next, the Viceroy said that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join an Interim Government, he would form one as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Cabinet's long and short-term plans. I again agreed but the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission scrapped their own proposals and went back on their word."

As communal disturbances assumed mammoth proportions, there was comparative lull in politics. There was suspense. And then there was continued suspense until at last bureaucracy moved again. Their representative in Delhi invited Mr. Jinnah for a talk. Ordinarily Mr. Jinnah would not have accepted the invitation. But the country as a whole, yearning under communal disturbances, was looking towards him for relief. He went and met Lord Wavell. Even consulted constitutional experts about League's entry into the Interim Government. He assured the Viceroy that, in spite of the shabby deal meted out by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, the League's co-operation was there for the asking but on honourable terms and on equal footing. Here was Mr. Jinnah's hand of friendship and here was again one more opportunity for Britain to prove her sincerity through her Viceroy. Mr. Jinnah closed the chapter of the past, forgave and forgot it. It was for Britain and the Congress to clasp that

extended hand.

Mr. Jinnah met the Viceroy again, and yet again. Then suddenly something happened. The Nawab of Bhopal appeared on the political horizon, on a self-appointed task of an intermediary between the Congress and the Muslim League. And suddenly the political barometer rose higher and higher. There was optimism in the air. Nawab of Bhopal met the Qaid-e-Azam, the Mahatma, Pandit Nehru and the Viceroy by turns. The result of these tireless rounds was that there were frequent conferences in the Congress and League camps. There were also two meetings between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah at Nawab of Bhopal's residence in Delhi. The prospect of a settlement appeared brighter. Nawab of Bhopal was able to persuade the Mahatma to draft a formula and give his seal of sanction to it. In the formula, Gandhiji said: "The Congress does not challenge and accepts that the Muslim League now is the authoritative representative of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. As such and in accordance with democratic principles they alone have today an unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India. But the Congress cannot agree that any restriction or limitation should be put upon the Congress to choose such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress as their representatives." In fact this formula of Gandhiji was the basis on which the meeting between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru

was arranged. But, all of a sudden, the author of the formula, Mr. Gandhi, backed out of it. He withdrew his acceptance of his own formula. That was a hint. Taking the cue from this move, Pandit Nehru wrote to Mr. Jinnah that he and his colleagues did not accept Gandhiji's formula. The matter ended there and the final attempt to come to an agreement with the Congress thus ended in failure. Nawab of Bhopal withdrew himself out of the picture, a disappointed man.

The real reason for this was not far to seek. The Congress were never serious about coming to terms with the League and since installed in high offices at Delhi and having tasted the fruits of power they were definitely opposed to a *rapprochement* with the League. And Gandhiji was for a long time opposed to a Congress-League Coalition at the Centre. Their public talks about seeking "co-operation" were all just a propaganda.

Disgusted with the attitude adopted by the Congress, the League was left with one option. That was to consider the terms of the Viceroy, who had offered that the League had a right to nominate five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League. Besides, the League had come to the conclusion that in the interest of Mussalmans and other communities, it was fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of the Congress. Consequently, the League

decided to enter the Interim Government "on its own right."

The entry of the League into the Central Executive did not cause as much surprise as its personnel; for, within the League's quota of five seats was included a Scheduled Caste representative. This was a master-stroke of statesmanship on the part of Mr. Jinnah. This took wind off the Congress sails. It put Congressmen in confusion. Mr. Gandhi said that the League's entry was "straight." For the first time he found that his monopolistic right to speak for Harijans was questioned. Some Congressmen described it as League's tit for Congress' tat. Master-stroke apart, it was a sincere attempt aimed at righting the wrong done by the Congress to the sixty million Depressed Class people, on whose name toadies and flunkies were nominated to serve the Caste Hindu interests. The Depressed Class people were not slow to recognise the great sacrifice the League had made by foregoing one of its seats. They marched in their thousands to Mr. Jinnah's residence to express their thanks and gratitude. Depressed Class leaders hailed the inclusion as a magnanimous gesture from the Muslims. Their latest slogan is: "We bow to the League!" "We salute Mr. Jinnah!"

So with just one move on the chess-board of Indian politics, Mr. Jinnah not only put the League into the Interim Government but sent the Congress into jitters. He also made the

British Government sit up and think. This was possible only for Mr. Jinnah. No other leader in Indian politics is gifted with the shrewd political acumen that he possesses in abundance. Otherwise, how could he have turned a rabble into a nation one hundred million strong? He got for a minority community the enviable status of a nation, and secured for the Muslim League "the unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India." Thus a "minority" entitled to a few safeguards was put on a parity basis with the majority community at the Centre. Today the position is if Mr. Jinnah moves, the League moves. If League doesn't move, Indian politics is at a standstill. That is the position he has secured for his nation and his party. How did he achieve all these? Without sending a man to gaol or shedding one drop of Muslim blood; because the time has not yet come for such sacrifices. Yes, not yet.

14

CLOSE-UP

Right now Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the acknowledged and undisputed leader of the hundred million Muslims of India. He enjoys the complete confidence of the Muslim community in a way which has never been attained by any Muslim leader before. Today he holds the key-position in Indian politics; of his community, he is the unquestioned leader, acclaimed lovingly as their Qaid-e-Azam. His name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of Muslim India. His is not a meteoric rise to eminence by a lucky combination of favourable circumstances, but the well-deserved reward for a long record of selfless service in the struggle for India's liberation and towards the renaissance and revival of his community.

A man of singularly exquisite charms, completely immune from the least trace of corruption and far above those mediocres who jostle for jobs, knighthoods and the like, his personality is an asset of incalculable benefit to the Muslim community. Tall and stately, luxurious of habits, accustomed to the rarefied atmosphere of a Parisian saloon, he has the plasticity and flexibility of a young man of twenty. Artistic in taste, aristocrat in likes and dislikes, he looks neat and tidy. He looks best in double-breast

coat even though since lately he has shown a taste for long *shervani* and black cap. He speaks faultless English fluently with an impressive accent.

You can with ease mark him out in any crowd—his personality is remarkably striking, his manner is singularly attractive. Dignified and courteous he is every inch cultured. To see him is to love him ; after seeing once there is no forgetting him. He appears somewhat formal and rigid and even reserved and imperious, but his aloofness only adds to his magnetic presence. It is very difficult to understand him even though he places all his cards on the table. He is an open-book to friends and followers, to his opponents he is an enigma and a riddle. They try to catch him, but he slips through their fingers.

A very brilliant debater, he is blunt in his speech, resents humming and hawing, and is trigger-quick in his decisions. He is selfless to the extreme and very independent in thought and judgment. Free and extremely frank in the exposition of his views, he has absolutely no regard for his opponents when telling the truth. Unmindful of consequences and even against the hottest odds he sticks to his principles, come what may. Constructive in criticism and pre-eminently practical, Mr. Jinnah is nothing if not a realist.

Such a man is the accredited leader of hundred million Muslims of India today and in

his hands lies the destiny of the Muslim nation.

At present he may be the champion of the two-nation theory. But this is not born of his ill-will towards the great Hindu community. Even Mr. Gandhi had to accept it when he wrote: "I observe from the Qaid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them." Addressing the Allahabad Journalists Association recently Mr. Jinnah said: "I agree that there is a wide difference today especially between Hindus and Mussalmans. Whether you are here Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians, all I can say to you is this that, however much I am criticised, however much I am attacked—and today I am charged with hate in some quarters—let me tell you—and this I tell you most sincerely—that I believe and I honestly believe that the day will come when not only Mussalmans but this great community of Hindus will also bless, if not during my life time, after I am dead, the memory of my name.

"I have expressed many times that whatever differences there are they do not from my side arise from the slightest ill-will against the great community of Hindus or any other community. We may not see eye to eye today but I can only give you one example to illustrate. The first man that went to the street with an umbrella was laughed at and was mobbed by the crowd. Because they had never seen the umbrella before in their lives. I am carrying an

umbrella. You may laugh at me, but time will come sooner than you realise that you will all not only understand what the umbrella is but you will use it to the advantage of everyone of you."

Mr. Jinnah is accused of being dictatorial. Mr. Fazlul Haq once went to the extent of referring him as the "proudest of the Pharaohs." A section of the Congress press even today refers to him as "the League Feuhrer." If he acts like a dictator, he does so because he enjoys the confidence of a bloc of hundred million Muslims as never before. He is a benevolent dictator, and not a tyrant. He is a dictator, not forcing his interdicts at the point of the bayonet—but he is so by a unanimous verdict and by a people's choice. He never thrusted his ideas on others. On the contrary, he invited suggestions which he said would receive his earnest attention: "One suggestion or one idea may be of great value to the future of Muslim nation. I want you to help and assist me. We want by these means to build up the nation and the chief organisation of the nation." Let alone his being dictatorial, he is even against his being made a life President. When this was suggested, Mr. Jinnah clearly stated: "Let me come to you at the end of every year and seek your vote and your confidence. Let your President be on his good behaviour. I am definitely opposed to your electing a life President." Hardly the words of a dictator! At the time of the recent Central

Assembly elections, he appealed: "I sent my application to the Central Parliamentary Board for my ticket to stand for election to the Central Assembly. My application was accepted. I am now standing before you and I assure you that it is my duty to serve the Muslim nation. If you vote for me, I am prepared to work for the cause of the Muslim nation. Even if you don't vote for me, I shall continue to work for you." He has oftentimes said that if the community thought that he was doing a wrong it can replace him in twenty-four hours.

Critics accuse him of irreligion. Orthodox *Mullas* even place him beyond the pale of Islam! But Mr. Jinnah is primarily a political leader. He doesn't pretend or claim an all-round knowledge. He has often said: "I know two things in life—law and politics." In fact he is a master in these fields. He never claimed to be an *Alim*. He said: "I am not a learned *Maulana* or *Maulvi*. Nor do I claim to be learned in theology. But I do know a little of my faith and I am a humble and proud follower of my faith." Since he undertook the reorientation of the League, he has joined prayers several times. On *Id* days he delivers speeches. During the Lucknow session he once led the *Asar* (afternoon) prayers.

Personal weaknesses he may have many. And which great man has not? But one most dreadful thing about him is his volcanic temper. Woe to the man who falls a victim to his wrath!

Mr. Jinnah did not become a people's leader overnight. He has to his credit a long record of selfless public service. Maulana Muhammad Ali had predicted that Mr. Jinnah would lead the Muslims "if great God puts in his head to take up the job." And Dr. Iqbal recognised that Mr. Jinnah alone could guide the Muslims on the right path. Writing to Mr. Jinnah he expressed: "I hope you won't mind my writing to you often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to the north-west of India and, perhaps, to the whole of India."

He is the greatest champion of Indian Muslims.

Critics call him all sorts of names. He is accused of being the agent of British imperialism in India. No one is a greater adversary of the British intentions. He was one of the first to advocate complete freedom when Mr. Gandhi and others were willing to be content with Dominion status. His Assembly speeches proclaim the man. When other Hindu lawyers were hesitating and fighting shy to incur the displeasure of the authorities, Mr. Jinnah volunteered and defended Bal Gangadhar Tilak in a sedition case. His entire political life is free from official benedictions and when it comes to a question of Indian interests and bureaucracy, Mr. Jinnah spares no words and bangs the Government right and left, relentlessly and unsparingly. During Khilafat days, provoked by the shabby deal meted out to

the Turks, he expressed the resentment of Indian Muslims: "In the meanwhile there sits in Olympian Simla a self-satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us unfortunate Mussalmans and regrets Mr. Gandhi's 'foolish of all foolish schemes' being fortified with a charter from His Majesty's Government sent in a recent despatch from 'Home.' This is the changed angle of vision, on which we heard such high-sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood, India's gold, was sought and unfortunately given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt legislation. One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment, and injury upon injury can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom!"

The one aspect of his character which stands in bold relief is his incorruptibility. His supremacy is supreme there. In all his political life he has never placed his self before sacrifice. He wants nothing for himself but everything for his country. He has always declined to utilise his public position for personal or private gain. It is this characteristic of the man that has won regard and reverence for him from friends and foes alike. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas hails him in these words: "Mr. Jinnah is one of those in India who have spurned all the rich prices offered in the shape of highest Government posts by

Government authorities." Sir H. P. Modi's tribute was: "He is fearless and straightforward, seeks no popularity and is singularly free from political intrigues." And Dr. C. R. Reddi, for the same reason, refers to Mr. Jinnah as "the pride of India, and not the private possession of Muslims."

During 1940, the shrewd, short, dark-spectacled Mr. Rajagopalachari made a "sporting offer" during the course of an interview to the foreign press that a National Government be set up, Mr. Jinnah be made the Premier and he be allowed to select his own cabinet. Rajaji added that he would persuade his colleagues. This was too evident for Mr. Jinnah who, during the course of a debate in the Assembly, pooh-poohed the idea saying, "why doesn't Mr. Rajagopalachari invite the prospective Prime Minister to have talk with him instead of wiring it to a London newspaper and saying, 'I shall persuade my colleagues.' Mr. Rajagopalachari has today justified his action by saying that it would have been improper to make the offer to me in the first instance, for I would then have legitimate grounds for considering it an insult and retorting that I was not after jobs. If Mr. Amery has accepted that offer and when the offer is then made to me, will it not be open to me to make the same retort and say that Mr. Amery and Mr. Rajagopalachari have combined to insult me? I

am not here for jobs. Do give other people credit for common-sense."

An impartial observer like Mr. Arthur Moore, the late editor of the *Statesman*, once wrote: "Mr. Jinnah's increased ascendancy in the Muslim councils is not entirely accounted for by successful strategy and tactics. It is, Muslims tell me, a tribute to a long public career in which he has shown himself to be no careerist. Mr. Gandhi is incorruptible because he is not interested in possessions. Mr. Jinnah is incorruptible in that he possesses enough and has earned an honourable independence in his legal profession." Even the worst of his critics acknowledges without question Mr. Jinnah's incorruptibility. Dr. Syed Husain said recently: "Though I am opposed to Pakistan, I must say that Mr. Jinnah is the only man in the public life whose public record is most incorruptible. You cannot buy him by money or offer of post. He has not gained anything from the British. He is not that kind of man. His character is as high as that of any other leader in India. He has not accepted anything from the British—benefit or title—although Mr. Gandhi did accept one from Britian after the Boer War. The Muslim masses know that Mr. Jinnah is the only man who is not in need of money and who has no lust for power."

Strangely enough, he is accused of being an agent of British imperialism, in the pay of the

White Masters and playing Tory Churchill's game. But men who know and have studied Mr. Jinnah's political career hold different views about this magnificent personality. St. Nihal Singh, the reputed Indian journalist, in a very recent article wrote: "I have a feeling that Muhammad Ali Jinnah may be using Churchill rather than permitting himself to be used by that British Conservative ex-Premier. At least in my view he is too shrewd to play any one else's game if he plays any game at all."

During the year 1937-38, when the Muslim League was growing from strength to strength, and Muslims were slowly weaning away from the Congress, the Congress leaders tried as a last resort to tempt Mr. Jinnah even with the bait of Congress Presidentship, the greatest honour that Congress could give. But Mr. Jinnah could not be lured away. He said, "No, thank you."

Mr. Jinnah was never an applicant for nor an aspirant of official honours. He never stooped to bend his knees before any European or kowtowed to officialdom. There had been several attempts by Governors and Viceroys to woo and win him; but every time he was found unpurchasable. Lord Reading, so goes a story, threw before Mr. Jinnah the two-baits —one of High Court Judgeship and the other of Law Member of the Government of India. He had also offered knighthood to Mr. Jinnah and in order that his wife might persuade him to accept it, Lord Reading once asked Mrs.

Jinnah: "Don't you wish to be called Lady Jinnah?" Right like a gun-shot the lady dashed forth her reply: "If he accepts knighthood I will take a separation from him." That was Mrs. Jinnah, who knew her husband more than any one else. Mr. Jinnah is a born fighter and an undaunted soldier—the hero of a hundred battles, the victor of innumerable fights who has both given and received numberless blows. In fact his political life is all fights.

Mr. Jinnah's marriage with Miss Petit was all romance. Barrister Jinnah who was at the summit of fame during the Lucknow Pact days, met beauteous Miss Ratanbai Petit, Sir Dinshaw Petit, the Parsi magnate's daughter and captured her heart. The Parsi community showed no liking for this match; that was because they did not like her embracing Islam to become Mr. Jinnah's wife. But the girl bundled up caste and creed restrictions and flinging them up into the Arabian Sea, got married to Mr. Jinnah. This apostasy had created a sensation and the matters had gone from the Police Court to the High Court as the Parsi community were determined to move the heavy machinery of law against the newly-weds. Rather an unusual honeymoon, isn't it? But the whole world loves the lovers and the romantic couple commanded general sympathy and the case was withdrawn.

As long as Ratanbai lived she was a tower of strength to Mr. Jinnah and a comrade-in-arms.

She waged many a political battle alongside her husband and in that famous Town Hall incident,—when demonstrators singing the praise of Willingdonian administration in Bombay, were routed by doughty Jinnah,—in captaining enthusiastic volunteers, Mrs. Jinnah proved that she was the valiant wife of a valiant husband.

There are many interesting anecdotes about Mrs. Jinnah's power of repartee. It is said that soon after her marriage she went to Simla and was a guest at a dinner at the Viceregal Lodge. When she was introduced to Lord Chelmsford, she did not curtsy, but wished him in the Indian way. Dinner over, there awaited an urgent summons for her from the Viceroy. With an air of wounded pride he told her: "Mrs. Jinnah, your husband has a great political future and you must not spoil it. In Rome, you must do what the Romans do." Mrs. Jinnah was ready to the occasion. She forthwith replied: "That is exactly what I did, Your Excellency. I wished you in the Indian way." Once she happened to sit next to Lord Reading at a dinner party at the Viceregal Lodge. The conversation soon drifted to Germany and Lord Reading grew reminiscent as he recalled his student days in that country. He told Mrs. Jinnah : "I am very anxious to go to Germany, but I am afraid I cannot do so." "Why not?" asked Mrs. Jinnah inquisitively. Explained Reading: "You see, the Germans will not like us, the British, any

more after the war and I cannot go there." "Oh!" said Mrs. Jinnah, adding: "How is it then that you came to India?"

Next to incorruptibility, if there is a distinct trait in his character it is his independence of opinion. When he has seriously thought about a question and come to a decision, nothing will sidetrack him. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir was one of those who were impressed by this aspect of Mr. Jinnah which distinguished him in public life. He wrote once: "Nothing will side-track Mr. Jinnah from what he considers is the path of truth, righteousness and equity. No amount of opposition, no threats and no danger will daunt him in his determination. He is a man full of courage and tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India today as he has been and I venture to suggest that no one can accuse him of ever having been a time-server or an opportunist. Such men are rarely found in public life." Sir Shanmukam Chetty is another admirer of Mr. Jinnah's "uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect." And in fact Mr. Jinnah owes his present position in Indian politics to this trait.

He has the courage of conviction and can act boldly. He has no respect for dogmas. He will do what according to him is right. "I am a very peculiarly constituted person," he said recently. "I am guided by cold-blooded reason, logic and judicial training." During Feb-

ruary 1943, when Mr. Gandhi went on a "fast-unto-capacity" for 21 days, the entire Hindu public were agitated about the precious life of their Mahatma. Hindu press was shrieking for the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. Some prominent leaders in India called for a conference to agitate for the release of Gandhiji and an invitation was sent to Mr. Jinnah to attend it. He could not suppress his independent view even though he knew he would incur the wrath of non-Muslim public. He openly and boldly spoke out: "It is a matter for Hindu politicians to meet and advise Mr. Gandhi."

When it comes to a question of giving expression to his independent views, he makes no difference between a friend and a foe. He can speak bluntly—no matter whether he loses a friend or crushes an enemy. Political differences he might have in abundance, but they do not induce him to bear malice to anyone. Once he said:

"I went into the chambers of Sir George Lowndes as a penniless man. He was to me like a father and treated me as a son. When he was in Imperial Legislative Council as the Law Member to the Government of India, I bitterly opposed him. Withal, we have maintained our friendship unbroken till this day . . . . Pandit Motilal and I used to fight like a pair of wild cats on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Yet in the same evening of our altercation, he used to dine sumptuously with my wife, at my

cost."

But his independence of view must not be confused with doggedness. He is willing to be convinced and corrected. He never thinks that he is too old to learn. He never fights shy to confess. "I am conscious of my guilt," he said about his Congress days. "Then I was young and did not see the danger."

Personal courage is a capital asset to Mr. Jinnah's leadership. He does not miss to use it when he knows he can do so with success. Sheer daring has won him respect. Never has he been spirited away and never has he lost his balance at the most trying times of his life. When it comes to a question of person-to-person you will never find him hesitating. He can stand up to any man. There have been many events in his life when by personal courage and unflinching boldness he has carved his image in the hearts of millions.

The Nagpur session of the Congress was an instance in point. Amidst a scene dominated by Gandhiji and in an atmosphere surcharged with the spirit of non-co-operation, who could have dared to speak against the non-co-operation resolution, conceived, fathered and sponsored by Mr. Gandhi? Yet one thin-bodied leader stood up with his head erect to oppose the resolution. It required guts to differ especially when twenty to thirty thousand persons who attended the session were passionately and even fanatically in support of the resolution. Yet

Mr. Jinnah dared: for he never believed in secret convictions. During the course of his speech, he did not even address the popular leaders with epithets commonly prefixed to their names out of respect. He referred to Gandhiji not as 'Mahatma', but only as Mr. Gandhi and to Maulana Muhammad Ali he referred as Mr. Muhammad Ali. When some of the delegates raised a hue and cry shouting; "say Mahatma Gandhi, say Mahatma Gandhi," he threw a resentful glance at them. But when the entire audience persisted in clamouring that he should also refer to Muhammad Ali as Maulana, he was infuriated and retorted with full force: "I refuse to be dictated by you. I am entitled to use my discretion to call a man by whatever designation I choose, provided it is parliamentary. I do not recognise Mr. Muhammad Ali's claim to be Maulana." On hearing this curt reply flung at them in a commanding voice, silence was instantly restored. It is said that the Big Brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali, was enraged at this rebuke. His blood boiled as he considered his brother's insult as his own and he rushed at Mr. Jinnah with a stick; but it was fortunate for both that the cult of non-violence came in their way.

He moved with everyone on equal terms. In all his official correspondence, he has successfully eliminated the beaten track. He would address the Premier of England or the Viceroy of India as "My dear Prime Minister" or "My dear

Lord, so and so."

When he resigned from the Imperial Council, he never made secret of his reactions. Condemning the Rowlatt Act he wrote: "I feel that under the prevailing conditions, I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows such an utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people at the Council Chamber and the feeling and sentiments of the people outside." During the Round Table Conference he refused to serve on the Minorities Sub-Committee "to wash dirty linen before our White Masters."

Lord Willingdon once had the misfortune to know what it was to come into conflict with doughty Mr. Jinnah. Five years of Willingdonian Governorship of Bombay had produced a gang of admirers consisting of yes-men and *Ji Huzoors* while the public were bored beyond exasperation. They heaved a sigh of relief when they knew that the disgusting regime was coming to an end. But the clique of admirers, true to salt or God-knows-what made arrangements to set up a public meeting to perpetuate the Willingdonian memory. Mr. Jinnah decided to rout the 'Admirers.' Mr. Dwarkadas and Mr. Horniman were his chief collaborators. They took possession of the hall with Mr. Jinnah at the head in good time. Outside, Mrs. Jinnah was leading the picketers. Mr. S. R. Bomanji who played Judas was moving heaven and earth

for the yes-men. The long and short of the whole affair was that the Governor did not show up at all and consequently the meeting was a thorough failure and Mr. Jinnah had undergone a great personal risk and practically endangered his life. Several of his followers were manhandled, assaulted and even threatened with dire consequences. It was a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah and the Willingdonian memory was drowned in laughter and opprobrium, ridicule and scorn, hoots and hisses. The idea of building a Jinnah Public Hall originated for commemorating this bold act of his. The opening ceremony was done by Mrs. Naidu and the following cable was sent to Mr. Jinnah who was then in Europe: "A prophet is honoured in his own country and in his own time." Mr. Gunther in his *Inside Asia* writes: "It was decided to name the public hall in Jinnah's honour, and it was dedicated—the People's Jinnah Hall—with appropriate ceremonies. But, nowadays, the Congress folk call it simply the 'P.J.' Hall, because their differences with the Muslims are such that they hate to use Jinnah's name."

Mr. Jinnah's decision to hold the annual session of the League in Lahore in 1940 according to the original announcement in spite of the sensational shooting of the Khaksars and the unpleasant incidents that took place at Lahore on the eve of the session and the great firmness and tact with which he controlled and pacified the demonstrators at the *pandal*, who were

agitated over the Khaksar shooting and asked for the blood of Sir Sikander, are instances of his unshakable determination and courage.

His announcement of the "Deliverance Day" created great agitation and commotion among non-Muslims, and non-Muslim Bombay was boiling with indignation against him. It is said that persons who were asking for Mr. Jinnah's head were simply dumbfounded when they saw him quietly and coolly going in an open car through the crowded streets to attend the meeting called at Bombay on the 'Deliverance Day.'

The secret attempt on his life brought out this unfailing courage of the man when Mr. Jinnah least expected it and when the assailant jumped to Mr. Jinnah's throat with a clasp knife, within the twinkling of an eye, it required the greatest presence of mind to parry the blow and break its momentum. It was a tug-of-war between youth and old age. Mr. Jinnah's mere strength of will made him catch the assailant's hand in time. The doctor's verdict that Mr. Jinnah was completely calm and cool, in spite of his old age, after the incident is worth noting and it throws ample light on the steadfastness and courage of Mr. Jinnah.

In spite of the recent attempt on his life and several threats, except that the visitors are not allowed to see him as freely as before, Mr. Jinnah even today moves about without check or hindrance. He has no bodyguards, has none about him to protect. He believes that the

Saviour Who protected him once can always do so. In a latest statement, he said: "I have trust in God. He will keep me alive as long as I am required to serve the Muslim nation."

Mr. Jinnah is an accomplished and able conversationalist and he can convince any one by the cogency of his arguments.

Beverley Nichols, with pronounced pro-Congress views, sought interviews with Mr. Jinnah. The cogency of arguments and procession of ideas and forceful exposition of the case of Pakistan by Mr. Jinnah convinced Mr. Nichols so much that he left India as a great votary for the Pakistan ideal. Later in his book *Verdict on India,* he describes Mr. Jinnah as "the most important man in Asia, who is in a position of unique strategic importance. He can sway the battle this way or that as he chooses. His 100 million Muslims will march to the left, to the right, to the front, to the rear at his bidding, *and at nobody else's* . . . that's the point. It is not the same in the Hindu ranks."

With regard to Pakistan, Mr. Nichols was so greatly convinced by the Qaid-e-Azam's lucid and powerful case that he writes: "This dream empire may one day come out of the clouds and place itself on the world's map with a bang. I am one of those who believe that this will happen, but that it *must* happen."

Some time back even that great Irish wit and dramatist approved of the Muslim demand. George Bernard Shaw's contention was:

"Pakistan is not rational; it is national and natural like Ulster in my native country. Do not wrangle about it. Give it a trial." As early as 1917, Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India, came to India and met a number of leading politicians. This was his impression about the Qaid-e-Azam: "They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive-looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the dole of his scheme . . . . I was rather tired and I funked him. Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Mr. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country."

So much for the public personality he is. But his private life is his own; few have successfully penetrated into this fortress. In spite of the fact that he is the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims and he is the beloved of the millions, he lives alone, alone with his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, in a well-planned and well-constructed modern building, on the heights of the Malabar Hill, where the cream of Bombay society lives. The house has a well-kept garden all around, where the beds of flowers and variety of trees suggest keen taste and an eye for selection.

One of the busiest politicians, Mr. Jinnah spends the largest part of the day in study, looking into correspondence, studying economic

schemes or poring over plans. A thousand problems engage his attention. He studies them and solves them all alone—there is no other leader in the League, of the position of Mr. Jinnah, who can share a fraction of his burdens or shoulder a part of his responsibilities. These important and vital issues keep him busy and it is never before midnight that the light is switched off.

He has a big and well-furnished library, which is full of books on politics and law. In spite of the multifarious activities, he snatches time even now for reading. This taste for books was, in fact, acquired when he was a lad. As a student at the Lincoln's Inn, whenever he found leisure, he used to rush up to the British Museum Library for reading books of his choice—lives of great men. In fact this study benefited him a good idea.

He had a special taste for Shakespeare and took leading part in the college Shakespearian dramas. It is also said that as student he was attached to a touring dramatic company in London. Whether this is true or not, one fact is certain: he can produce even today, without a moment's hesitation, a Shakespearian quotation to suit any and every occasion.

He is a heavy smoker—alternately smoking a cigarette, cigar and pipe. Though not stiff-necked, he has a special liking for stiff-collars. He wears no glasses but when necessary he sports a monócle which adds to his grace and

poise. He is accessible to almost everyone, himself goes down to the visitor to greet him with a smile and a warm handshake. He is a perfect gentleman, and personally the most lovable man, politician *par excellence*, absolutely free from corruption. Today the critics may call him what they may—and they are one in blackmailing him—but not in the distant future, they will agree with him and with the cause he espouses. He is the living symbol of Muslim aspirations, their champion, their advocate. Few can rival him in his independence of judgment and frankness of convictions. He has not bent his head low before any other leader. No Indian political leader nor any from the Muslim nation ever had the good fortune of adding Mr. Jinnah to the rank of his followers. He is a lone figure in Indian politics—but how wonderfully he leads the masses without being one of them ! To come across the best embodiment of Indian freedom, to get at the man whom corruption has not touched, whom official honours have not defiled, and who has the unique reputation of being the most clear-headed politician, you must meet Mr. Jinnah.